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An Irish Quarterly Review

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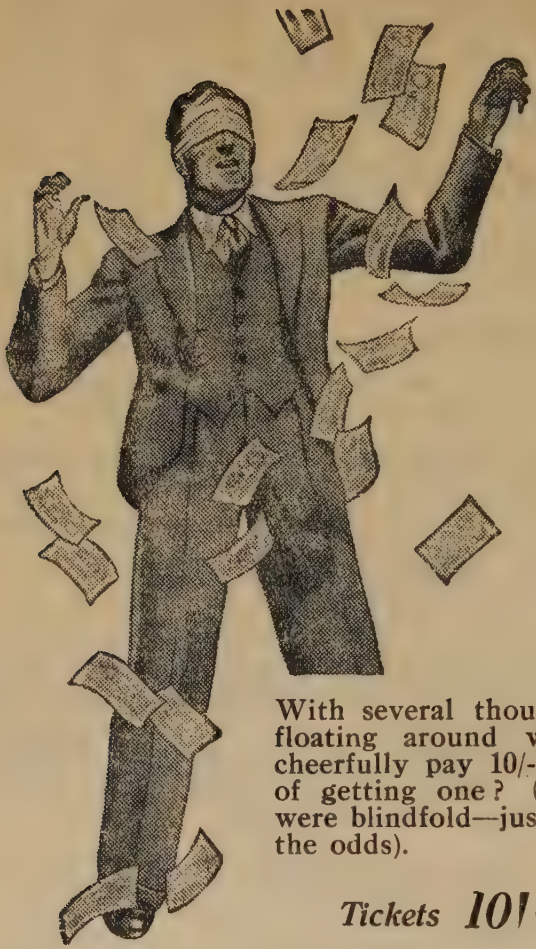

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VOL. XXI No. 83

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

SEPTEMBER 1932

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Vatican *Photo. Alinari*

LAST COMMUNION OF ST. JEROME by DOMENICHINO

Domenico Zampieri (commonly called Domenichino) was born in Bologna, 21 October 1581, and died in Naples, 16 April 1641. Slow and plodding in his youth, he was nicknamed the "Ox." But, like the patient ox, he finally delivered the goods in the immortal picture here reproduced, one of the great paintings of the world and one which, in the opinion of Poussin, entitles its creator to rank first after Raphael.

Florence THE LAST SUPPER by Fra Angelico *Photo. Anderson*

Giovanni Angelico da Fiesole was born at Vecchio in 1387, entered the Dominican Order at Fiesole in 1407, and died at Rome in 1455. He decorated the monastery of San Marco, Florence, with frescoes, one of which is here reproduced. " In him," writes Langton Douglas,

Madrid *Photo. Anderson*

THE LAST SUPPER by VINCENTE JUANES

Vincente Juanes or Yuanes (1506-1579), head of the Valencia school of painters, was often called " the Spanish Raphael." An artist of deep religious feeling, he never began a picture without receiving Holy Communion and begging the assistance of God.

Madrid RUDOLF OF HABSBURG AND THE PRIEST ON SICK CALL by RUBENS *Photo. Anderson*

Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) depicts in this picture an incident in the life of Rudolf I, founder of the Habsburg Monarchy. Rudolf, returning from the hunt and meeting a priest on his way with the viaticum to a dying man, dismounts and gives his horse to the priest.

Dublin THE SICK CALL by MATTHEW LAWLESS (1836-1864) *Photo. Sparkes*

(By courtesy of the Governors of the National Gallery)

Matthew James Lawless, who was born in Dublin, died at the early age of twenty-eight, when he had just begun to give promise of great things. The picture reproduced here was his last contribution to the Royal Academy exhibitions. He is best known by his fine work as an illustrator in the pages of *Good Words* and *Once a Week*.

Louvre THE DISCIPLES AT EMMAUS by VERONESE *Photo. Alinari*

Paolo Cagliari Veronese (1528-1588) " became the supremely successful artist of the Venetian State, executing there a series of decorative paintings which in fertility of invention, richness of colour, and sustained accomplishment are unequalled. . . . Certainly with him Venetian art comes to an end, for the time being at least " (Sir Charles Holmes).

Amsterdam

THE APOSTLE ST. BARTHOLOMEW by Toorop

Photo. Curt

THE APOSTLE ST. PAUL by Toorop

An article on Jan Toorop (1858-1928) appears in this issue. These two pictures—loaned by Count W. Dreesmann to the Ryksmuseum, Amsterdam—are charcoal sketches made for the "Last Supper" which hangs at present in the Zürich Museum. Toorop executed sketches of all the Apostles in the same style and medium.

Escorial TRANSFER OF THE HOST by CLAUDIO COELLO *Photo. Anderson*

Since 1592 a Sacred Host, brought from Holland and preserved uncorrupted, was treasured in the Escorial. Charles II of Spain, having decided to transfer this Host to the sacristy in 1684, commissioned a special altar for its reception. This altar is adorned by Coello's masterpiece, which depicts the ceremony of transfer.

THE RAILWAY PROBLEM

Facts to be Faced[1]

BY EDWARD MACLYSAGHT

Member of Irish Railway Commission, 1922

REGARDED simply as an economic question of pressing national importance the problem of the railways and road competition is of sufficient interest to attract the attention of the intelligent citizen; but when we remember that some 14,000 men earn their living by employment on the Great Southern Railways alone, that thousands of others derive their livelihood indirectly from the same source, and further that a nominal Capital of some 25 million pounds is sunk in the same Railway Company and is held, not by a few rich men, but by many thousands of shareholders in the Irish Free State, it is easily understood that the future of the railways is a matter not of mere academic interest, but of vital concern to a very large body of people in this country.

It is now a matter of almost daily occurrence for meetings to be held and resolutions passed calling upon traders to make use of the railways, on the Government to come to their assistance, on the Company not to discontinue services (even though they are manifestly unremunerative). The newspapers print letters to the same effect and emphasize the seriousness of the position in leading articles. Yet we come no nearer to a solution and things are allowed to drift. It is high time that the various interests concerned should face facts fairly and squarely.

First let me take the shareholders and the directors. They must realize that road transport has come to stay and has definitely superseded rail transport in certain respects. It is no use their talking about the Great

[1] The reader is recommended to study three documents of importance, all of which have been published since this article was written—viz. the Report of the British Transport Commission, the Irish Labour Party's Railway Proposals, and the Statement of the Chairman of the G. S. R. to the shareholders' meeting on August 9th.

Southern Railways as if they were a private property still worth £25,000,000. Let them face the facts and the figures as revealed by the present Stock Exchange quotations :—

	Nominal Value	*Actual Value*
Ordinary Shares	£7,767,123	£388,351
Preference Shares	5,068,464	506,846
Guaranteed Stocks	3,885,374	777,075
Debenture Stocks	8,323,797	3,412,754
	£25,044,758	£5,085,026

Calculated on this basis the value is therefore only a shade over one-fifth of the nominal figure, and the earning capacity of the Company is dwindling so rapidly that there is every prospect of no dividend being payable not only on the ordinary and preference shares, but also on the guaranteed stocks; even the debentures are in jeopardy.

The three main facts to be realized by shareholders and directors are : first, that their property is worth not 25 but 7 or 8 millions ; secondly, that the only parts of it which are worth anything to them as a paying proposition are the main lines ; and thirdly, that the railway system and the subsidiary road concerns belonging to it (the I. O. C. and Wallis's) should co-operate more closely together and be managed by a single board of directors. I have no space available to give instances of the lack of co-ordination now existing between these concerns, but they have frequently been pointed out. The recent announcement of house to house deliveries by the Railway Company indicates a move in the right direction.

This brings us to the second class of persons interested in the railways, namely the users. They must realize that it is useless to petition for the continuance of services on branch lines which are run at a loss—unless

they can persuade the Government to subsidize these as a public necessity, the wisdom of which would be doubtful having regard to the fact that road transport offers a more economic service in remote and sparsely populated districts.

This consideration in turn leads us to the Government as a factor in the situation. It is the bounden duty of the Government to face facts, too, though up to the present I see no signs that they are doing so in this matter. If the Government were definitely to take the view that the railways are a private concern and that it is solely their business to meet the danger of being crushed out of existence by road competition, as eighty years ago they themselves superseded the stage coaches, it would be an intelligible, though I think erroneous, point of view. But they have explicitly stated that they regard the railways as a national necessity. The following facts, which will hardly be disputed, may be adduced to show that the railways are a national necessity. Railways alone can adequately—

1. provide fast long distance passenger services,
2. convey vast numbers of people to a central point on a special occasion, such as the Eucharistic Congress,
3. convey heavy merchandize in large quantities,
4. deal with the live stock traffic.

And there is also the fact, already dealt with, that a very large number of people in Ireland derive a living from the railways.

At this point, before going on to consider how the Government as the custodian of the national economy should deal with the problem that undoubtedly confronts it, I might mention the fourth body of citizens who must face facts, namely, the employees of the railways. The attitude adopted, that no further reductions in pay will be accepted voluntarily, is short-sighted, having regard

to the reduced resources of the Company and the general reduction in income suffered by all classes of the community. No one relishes a reduction in income, but there are few who have not had to bear it recently. Facts must be faced by all. *Tá an fhírinne searbh.*

Once the existence of a railway system—not necessarily a system with so great a mileage as that now existing—is accepted as a national necessity, certain other facts must be taken into consideration by the Government.

1. The railways, having in the past enjoyed a monopoly of national transport, are hampered by regulations and restrictions from which their road competitors are free. These fall under the heads of public safety, cleanliness, and labour conditions.

2. Any increase in heavy road transport would not only finally cripple the railways, but would also involve a large and increasing expenditure on the upkeep of the roads.

3. With the increase of road transport the number of fatal accidents on the roads has grown to an alarming extent and must be regarded not only as an unpleasant feature of modern life but as a definite public danger to be controlled by legislation.

It is, I think, a matter of general agreement that co-ordination of the various forms of transport can only be effected by the setting up of a central controlling authority. The first step in dealing with the railway problem will be the appointment of a Transport Minister, or better still a semi-independent Transport Controller under the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, with wide powers to enable him to eliminate the present chaotic and wasteful competition. I will now submit some suggestions as to how this Controller should proceed to tackle the problem before him.

Passenger Services

The decline in traffic is considerably less in passengers than in goods. The number of passengers travelling on

the main lines is as great as ever, if allowance be made for a certain reduction due to the world depression. No plan can possibly be devised whereby the loss of traffic due to the use of private motor cars can be regained, except in so far as the increased speed and comfort of express main line trains, together with reduced fares, has resulted in private car owners returning to the railway as a more convenient mode of travel.

For short journeys buses have the immense advantage of travelling on roads where people live and so pick up passengers near their homes and as a rule deposit them in a more convenient centre than the railway station. It would seem to me that the closing of a number of branch lines for passenger traffic is inevitable, if the railways are to be kept on a paying basis. Some of the small stations on the more important lines might also be closed for passenger traffic.

As regards passenger services, then, I do not see how any great change in the present policy of the railways can be advantageously made, or any substantial improvement on the Transport Act of 1931 be devised.

Goods Services

It is under this head that the railways have lost revenue most seriously during the past two years. The reason is not far to seek. Apart from the fact that road users are unhampered by the restrictions imposed on the railways, the point is that the lorry owner can pick and choose the class of goods he will carry, while the railway must convey whatever is offered. Now the very complicated and technically adjusted rates system on the railways was built up at a time when the railways were the only means of transport in the country, and as they possessed a monopoly, they could afford to carry heavy and bulky merchandize (such as coal, grain, etc.) at rates which scarcely paid the cost of transport, and they could always make good any deficit due to this policy by charging a remuner-

ative figure for light and miscellaneous goods. This arrangement was in the interest of the public more than of the railways. Now, with these rates stereotyped, the uncontrolled road-carrier can skim the cream of the traffic by conveying the remunerative stuff (at less than railway rates), leaving the railway to handle the unremunerative stuff. That is the position. The logical result, if we were ever to attempt to carry all merchandize by road transport and do without railways, is too serious to need pointing out.

I referred above to the conditions which hamper the railways unfairly in their competition with road transport. I have heard it argued that these, if they exist at all, are much exaggerated. They certainly exist and are a very real handicap. Leaving aside the contention that the railways, being the largest ratepayers in the country, are contributing substantially towards subsidizing the "permanent way" of their rivals, I need only point to the elaborate and expensive system of signalling in force on the railways, while buses and lorries enjoy the go-as-you-please conditions of the public road. (Imagine a signalling system for buses and lorries; yet a bus travelling 50 miles per hour, as they frequently do, will kill a pedestrian as easily as a train would—more easily in fact, for trains run on their own private roads where pedestrians have no right to stray). At every level crossing the railway is compelled to maintain gates, with an attendant to open them for road users. Bridges have to be provided for passengers to cross the line at stations where scarcely half a dozen trains pass in the day, while children can saunter across busy main roads where motor traffic rushes past at the speed of an express train. The recent Transport Act may have imposed certain restrictions on road transport; but they will be very hard to enforce as strictly as on the railways. And as to labour conditions, it would appear from statements freely and frequently made in public that the road transport worker

is as a rule badly paid, works long hours, and has little security of tenure, whereas the railwayman has reasonable hours, reasonable pay, and reasonable security.

The Transport Controller should, I submit, proceed to make certain orders with the object of co-ordinating the transport system, chief among which would be :—

(1) Prohibit the starting of any new road services except under licence, which would not be granted unless a good case for their necessity were made.

(2) Endeavour to bring about a voluntary amalgamation of all existing public road services with the railway companies. (Failing voluntary amalgamation, legislation would have to be passed providing for compulsory amalgamation, as was done in the case of the numerous railway companies operating in the Free State before 1924).

(3) Arrange for the use of the existing " network " of Motorways, Dooleys, etc., to feed the railways and deliver goods at destination.

(4) Cancel all heavy long distance lorry services.

(5) Prohibit the use of any lorry larger than 30 cwt. capacity on the roads except under licence in special circumstances.

(6) Subject privately owned lorries plying for hire or carrying goods for the public to regulations and restrictions as to sanitary standards, hours of labour, etc., and rigorously enforce compliance with the regulations on all road carriers. (Difficulties undoubtedly suggest themselves here in the case of the owner-driver).

(7) Impose very heavy penalties for dangerous driving. It would not be practicable to interfere with privately owned lorries not exceeding 30 cwt. if not plying for hire.

I suggest that a wider use of containers transferable from lorry to rail would be a corollary of the reforms I have outlined, though I realize that traffic in Ireland, where small quantities are handled, is not so suitable for this mode of conveyance.

I would also like to point out that at present the Post Office is losing a considerable amount of business in parcel post, as Motorways collect and deliver small parcels, even over long distances, at rates which are cutting out the Post Office; and in addition to being cheaper they save the sender from bringing his parcel to the Post Office, often a distance of some miles in country places. The Transport Ministry could arrange to take advantage of this fact to the mutual benefit of all concerned.

I put forward these suggestions in the hope that they may be used as the basis for a solution of a national problem of the gravest importance. Immediate action is necessary, as every day the position gets worse and the vested interests opposed to reform become more numerous. I have had some special opportunities of studying transport problems, but I do not claim to speak as an expert. My views are given as those of an Irishman keenly interested in the welfare of the country and as one in whose business both rail freights and lorry upkeep are considerable items of expenditure.

The alternative to drastic government action, on some such lines as I have indicated, is either the disappearance or the nationalization of the railways. E. MACLYSAGHT

Comments on the foregoing Article

No. 1.—By PATRICK MCGILLIGAN, M.A., T.D.

Minister for Industry and Commerce, 1924–1932

ON August 9th a special meeting of the shareholders of the Great Southern Railways Company was held in Dublin to receive a statement from the Chairman, Sir Walter Nugent. Having pointed out "the alarming position of the railway," the Chairman asked for legislation under two heads: (1) Legislation regulating freight road traffic by licence and imposing fair road costs according to user; (2) Legislation relieving the railways from the following disabilities arising out of the Railway Acts of 1924 and 1932:—

(*a*) Financial burdens of carrying on lines baronially guaranteed . . . at great loss and without any subsidy;

(*b*) Obligations to run services on non-paying lines originally constructed out of government grants and public moneys ;
(*c*) Obligations to maintain railway wages . . . at rates representing 140 per cent over the pre-war rates ;
(*d*) Obligations for loans made by the British Government to the constitutent companies prior to amalgamation ;
(*e*) Restrictions imposed on the railway company in respect of rates, fares, conditions of carriage, etc.

In regard to three of these disabilities the position can be briefly and clearly explained. Under the 1924 Railway Act the G.S.R. have to be paid, up to and including 1934, a sum of £47,288 per annum in respect of the baronially guaranteed lines. Under the 1932 Act the Minister for Industry and Commerce may, by order, *modify* the services under (*a*) and (*b*) ; he may even permit such services to *cease* altogether if it be discovered, after public inquiry, that other transport facilities are available for the people of the area. With regard to (*c*) the implication is not as made. The 1924 Act required rates of pay, hours of duty, and other conditions of service to be regulated by agreements made between the railway company and the trade unions. The machinery of negotiation for these agreements culminates in a Wages Board to which all disputes must be referred. On that Board the railway company, the trade unions and the trading public are represented, with a Judge as Chairman. To say that the G.S.R. are paying wages at rates 140 per cent over pre-war rates may be a statement of fact ; but to set that down as a disability arising out of the 1924 Act is scarcely a fair presentation of what is likewise a fact—namely, that the G.S.R. have been unable to convince the representatives of the trading public or the judicial chairman that rates 140 per cent. over pre-war rates are unjustified. Disability (*d*) requires the attention of the Government ; but the Government cannot overlook the acknowledgment, many times made by the G.S.R., that, due to amalgamation, the figure of expenditure has dropped from £4,345,000 in 1924 to £3,069,000 in 1930.

Disability (*e*)—restrictions in respect of rates, fares, conditions of carriage—is the one most relied upon and most exaggerated. It is true that conditions of carriage by rail were settled and enforced. But similar regulations were guaranteed for goods carriage by road. They are actually in operation for butter and dead meat, and must soon be extended to livestock. Equality of conditions will come by further impositions on road vehicles. Restrictions on

rates and fares do not really exist except in so far as discrimination between individual and individual is prohibited. Standard charges were struck and approved by the Railway Tribunal in accordance with the 1924 Act ; but the Act allows these charges to be varied by new and exceptional rates, and these new rates may be made at any time at the discretion of the railway company, so long as they are not more than 40 per cent. below the standard rate chargeable. Even that does not exhaust the railway company's powers ; for rates more than 40 per cent. below the standard may be struck wih the consent of the Railway Tribunal.

Under the description of " conditions which hamper the railway unfairly in their competition with road transport " Mr. MacLysaght introduces, *inter alia*, three other items : regulations to secure public safety, labour conditions,and railway payments of rates which go to subsidize the permanent way of their rivals. The Traffic Bill introduced last year takes full cognizance of the first and second of these inequalities and provides against them. Payments made by the railways as ratepayers may possibly be described as " subsidies " ; but the exact amount so paid should be recorded as a corrective to the force of the contention. In 1931 the G.S.R. paid in rates £100,000, and the G.N.R. within the Saorstát paid roughly £20,000. As it is calculated that about one-third of all the rates are applied to the roads, it would appear that the contribution of both railways to the permanent way of their rivals does not exceed £50,000 per annum—and that at a time when the total expenditure on our roads has reached the sum of £2,100,000,

In the " disabilities " enumerated by Sir Walter Nugent and Mr. MacLysaght there is really no serious cause of complaint. But the Chairman of the G.S.R. also demanded " legislation regulating freight road traffic by licence and imposing fair allocation of road costs according to user." Comparing this with Mr. MacLysaght's suggestions to his (proposed) Transport Controller, one point clearly emerges. The railway company, by insisting on the necessity of controlling freight *road* traffic, approaches agreement with Mr. MacLysaght's conclusion : " As regards passenger services, then, I do not see how . . . . any substantial improvement of the Transport Act of 1931 can be devised." As that Act, or rather the policy regarding passenger traffic enabled by the Act and announced as the policy to be enforced under it, met with almost unanimous approval, and as it may with slight changes be made applicable to goods traffic, its general tenor should be stated.

The Act established three points: (1) after a certain date passengers, merchandise and mails should not be carried for reward by road except under licence; (2) a licence could not be refused to an operator who had for twelve months previously carried on a road service to the general satisfaction of the public; (3) licences might be refused to all others, if the proposed service did not appear to be in the public interest. The Minister for Industry and Commerce was empowered to attach conditions to any licences granted, and it was declared to be the settled policy that conditions and licences would be so managed as to throw passenger traffic by road into the control of the two railway companies, the Dublin Tram Company, and their auxiliary road services. Goods vehicles were omitted from the Act; but a promise was given that, if and when the railways could give services by road, an approach to the goods problem would be made. By a recent advertisement the railways have given evidence that they have a considerable fleet of lorries and a well considered scheme of interlinked rail and road goods services. The licensing of lorry traffic has, therefore, become a matter of practical politics. But it is no simple matter to work out a licensing system, and while it should receive favourable consideration at this time, there are two points of difficulty to be investigated.

The privately owned motor car is, of course, outside the scope of the Transport Act. Is it possible to bring the private trader using his own lorry for his own goods—with a possibility of securing return loads on commission—within a licensing system for lorries? If not, the field of operation is much restricted; for out of 8,000 goods vehicles operating on the roads in 1931 more than 6,000 were owned by traders and operated for their own and "ancillary" use. Attempts to restrict the private lorry from carrying for hire or reward will be attended with many difficulties in the way of supervision and enforcement. South Africa recently attempted this and has been forced to consider repeal of the restrictive legislation as unworkable.

The second point is more involved. Mr. MacLysaght says: "The decline in traffic is considerably less in passengers than in goods;" and later: "It is under this head (Goods Services) that the railways have lost revenue most seriously." In part explanation of the second statement he refers to the complicated and technically adjusted rates system on the railways built up on the principle of charging less than a proportionate cost of service to certain traffics and more to others, and points out that the remunerative service has been skimmed by the road-carrier, the unremunerative

being abandoned to the railway. All this is accurate enough—viewed from one angle. But the intermingling of passenger traffic, remunerative goods traffic and unremunerative goods traffic on the Irish railways has brought about a strange result. The volume of passenger traffic has not lessened to any degree; but the receipts from passengers and passenger train traffic has diminished considerably. The volume of goods traffic has not lessened very much, and the receipts from goods are, relative to passenger receipts, steady. In pre-war days railway managers looked to passengers for 50 per cent. of their receipts and to goods for the other half. In 1931 bus competition for passengers had so driven down passenger receipts that only 40 per cent. of the G.S.R. Co.'s revenue was derived from passengers, as much as 60 per cent. coming from goods. So we have the peculiar position here that goods are subsidising passengers and have been doing so for some time, and on top of that we have the increasing drive by the lorries to remove the cream of the goods traffic from the railways. The G.S.R. is therefore more vulnerable to attack by lorry than any other railway, as it had to look for a greater proportion of its revenue from goods and so could not lower its charges on this side to meet the outside competition. It was a recognition of this fact which led the promoters of the Transport Act, 1932, to concentrate on passenger traffic. As, however, owing to a change in policy, that Act is not being used to divert passenger traffic almost entirely to the railway companies with their road auxiliaries, the licensing of road traffic has become necessary if the railways are to be saved. Under a system of licence and control it is to be hoped that the desired amalgamation of the competing lorries will be brought about by stress of competition and not directly by legislation.

The solution of the railway difficulty would consequently appear to lie in operating the Transport Act, 1932, as was previously intended, to bring passengers and their receipts back again to the railways and railway-owned buses, and in applying a similar scheme with the necessary modifications to goods. To do this does not require either a Transport Ministry or a Transport Controller. The Department of Industry and Commerce has sufficient expert staff to deal satisfactorily with all transport matters, and in eight years I know of no case in which what is described as the lack of co-ordination between different government departments hindered progress or prevented the carrying out of any single item of transport policy.

P. MCGILLIGAN

No. 2.—By George O'Brien, D.Litt.

Professor of Economics, University College, Dublin

The essence of the railway problem in the Free State is that the income of the railways has diminished while their outgoings have remained rigid, with the result that their profit has disappeared. The cause of the diminution of the railways' income is, of course, the growing competition from road vehicles both for passengers and goods. This new type of competition is formidable not only by reason of the convenient services it provides, but also because it is to a large extent unregulated and in some degree subsidized. As the railways are not allowed to raise their rates and would not attract much additional traffic by lowering them, they are powerless to do anything to increase their income. They are unfortunately almost equally powerless to reduce their costs. They are bound by law to provide minimum services on all parts of their system and to maintain a very high standard of equipment; local rates have greatly increased since the war; and the reduction of labour costs either by dismissals or the revision of wage rates is extremely difficult. In a word, the railways continue to suffer from the restrictions and rigidities proper to a monopoly undertaking when all the advantages of a monopoly have disappeared.

It is obvious that the present state of affairs cannot persist. No undertaking however essential is either able or willing to be operated indefinitely at a loss, and, unless some change of public policy in relation to transport is announced, the railways may be expected to close down in the near future. Nobody will suggest that such a course is desirable. As Mr. MacLysaght points out, the railways are the most efficient type of transport for long distances and for heavy merchandise, and their total abandonment may be dismissed as being out of the question. Assuming that they are to be saved, three possible courses seem open to the Government. The first course would be to throw the whole transport services of the country open to completely unregulated competition and to give to the railways the same freedom of action as is now possessed by their rivals on the roads. While this course of action would be preferable to the present policy of leaving one branch of the transport services relatively free from control while the other branch is throttled by regulations, it will not command any serious support. The transport services are a matter of national concern, and must be controlled by the public authorities; and any suggestion that they should be left to the free play of unregulated

competition would be rightly rejected as retrograde and indefensible.

The second course which the Government might adopt would be the nationalization of the railways. It is difficult to see what advantage would be gained by mere nationalization unaccompanied by other reforms. A public department operating the railways would be in precisely the same difficulties as the existing companies, and the resulting economies of administration would be negligible now that the railways have been amalgamated. Moreover, nationalization would be extremely unpopular with the shareholders and would give rise to possible injustice. The amount of compensation that should be paid would be very difficult to determine. While it is obvious that the railways are not worth anything like their nominal capital, it is equally obvious that they should not be valued, as Mr. MacLysaght seems to suggest, at the current stock exchange quotation of their shares—which is the result of the very conditions for which a remedy is being sought. Some intermediate value between these extremes would have to be found, which would be just to the shareholders and the public; and the finding of such a value would give rise to many difficulties.

The third couse is that advocated by Mr. MacLysaght—namely, the complete co-ordination of all forms of transport by rail and road. It is obvious that this is the course which promises to provide the public with the most economical and efficient service, while enabling all the existing agencies to be utilized each in its proper place. Regarding the details of such a co-ordination there is room for wide differences of opinion, and many questions arise which can be solved only by technical transport experts. In the formulation of any scheme of co-ordination two main principles should be respected: first, nothing should be done to retard progress or to deprive the public of the fruits of scientific discoveries; and second, vested interests should be safeguarded as far as is reasonably possible. Observance of the first principle will ensure that the public will not be prevented, by reason of sentimental attachments to the past, from enjoying the type of transport which it prefers. The railways, it must be remembered, are themselves comparatively modern inventions, and their own progress was retarded a century ago by the hostility of landowners and the road transport interests. The emergence of that hostility on the part of the railways to-day can be to a great extent prevented by the observance of the second principle—namely, the safeguarding of vested interests. The principal vested interests concerned are those of the railway shareholders and the railway

workers. The shareholders should be protected from the unregulated and unreasonable competition from which they have suffered in recent years; all vehicles conveying passengers or goods for hire should be strictly controlled by the co-ordinating authority, and vehicles utilized exclusively for the transport of goods belonging to their owners should be subject to conditions regarding wages, speed and weight. The workers should be, as far as possible, transferred from the decaying to the growing branches of the transport system, while those who lose their employment on account of the new developments should be compensated. If these two principles be observed, the transition from the old to the new type of transport will be accomplished with the minimum of friction; efficiency will be secured and injustice avoided.

Differences of opinion will doubtless arise regarding many of the details of the scheme of co-ordination. Whether greater efficiency of administration would be obtained by the retention of the present transport agencies subject to a controlling authority or by the setting up of a new public department is a question that must be decided on the balance of advantages without any predilection in favour of either public or private operation. The financial details of the co-ordinated services will also give rise to much discussion, and should be approached in the same manner as the cognate problem in Great Britain, which has been exhaustively dealt with in the able report of the conference presided over by Sir Arthur Salter. Generally speaking the scheme should be made self-supporting in the sense that the transport services of the country should pay for themselves without any assistance from public funds. On the other hand, rates should not be fixed so high as to contain an element of concealed taxation. In allocating charges between the different branches of the service, the principle to be observed should be that, as far as possible, the income from each branch should cover the cost of its operation. Any departure from this principle would involve the subsidizing of some branches at the expense of others, and the consequent survival of relatively inefficient and uneconomic services.

G. O'Brien

No. 3.—By Senator John T. O'Farrell

Secretary of the Railway Clerks' Association

The advent of the internal combustion engine, which is a phenomenon of this century and of the present generation, has resulted

in a transport revolution, the ultimate effects of which will be almost as far-reaching as those resulting from the introduction of railways a little more than a century ago. There is the difference, however, that whereas railways were only allowed to develop under statutory laws and regulations of the most stringent character, road motor transport has been given a free field to operate in every possible way dictated by the whims of individuals or groups of individuals. The inevitable result has been chaos.

Some indication of the effect of the new orientation may be gathered from the fact that the gross receipts of the Great Southern Railways for 1931 show a reduction of £1,279,919 as compared with 1924. The actual amount spent on wages and maintenance charges in the same period has been reduced by £1,480,131. The effect upon railway employment of these reductions is indicated by the fact that whereas on 1st January 1925 the Great Southern Railways employed 17,224 people, on 1st January of this year that number was reduced to 12,044, whilst many hundreds have been dismissed since then. Not all of this is due to road motor competition. A considerable allowance must be made for reductions in rates and fares and for trade depression, but in the main the railway decline must be attributed to unregulated or specially favoured competition on the roads.

Those who talk lightly of the alleged unreasonableness of the railway trade unions in regard to rates of pay are obviously not aware of the fact that over 20 per cent. of Irish railway employees are in receipt of less than 40/– per week per person, and that between April 1926 and June 1931 reductions in salaries and wages for the whole of the Irish railways amounted to nearly £1,200,000 per annum. Hence, those who look for a solution of the railway problem by means of further raids on the cupboards of the railwaymen must inevitably be disappointed. Many of the latter are near the border-line of destitution already.

Owing to the manner in which transport developments have been ignored, the problem is now a much more complex one than if it had been tackled right at the beginning. The industry is over-capitalized to an extent that the industrial and commercial resources of the country do not justify—and this, too, at a time when it is well-nigh impossible to obtain capital for the promotion of industries that would supply work for transport services. As a result, numerous vested interests have been created, all of which very naturally claim consideration when an effort is made to bring order out of the existing chaos. The policy of "leaving bad enough alone" has been carried to an extent that almost

fills one with despair. At the moment a position exists in which we have far more transport facilities than the community need, and yet we lack the speed, efficiency, comfort and safety which a normal well-managed transport service could ensure.

Whether we like it or not, we have to face the fact that the country is not capable of maintaining two fiercely competing transport systems. It does not mean that railway services should not be supplemented by road services, both for passengers and merchandise, but not in a competing sense. Nearly all the large centres of population are on the coast, and consequently the principal industries, with the exception of agriculture, are also located on the coast. They get their imports by sea, with little railway haulage, and their exports, to the extent to which they have any, do not involve much inland transport for the same reason. It is essential, therefore, that the greatest possible economy should be exercised in providing transport, which is to be at the same time efficient and self-supporting. Unnecessary or wasteful competition can only end in disaster for the transport concerns and in inefficient services for the community. The whole national requirements should be carefully examined, and a comprehensive plan of railway, road and water services decided upon.

Any impartial investigation of the position will establish the fact that the railways are still capable of carrying without difficulty the *whole* of the inland transport of the country, while road transport is not in a position to do so ; that the real as against the apparent cost of road transport is probably greater than that of rail transport, when the subsidies which the former receives at the expense of the community are taken into consideration ; and that for many years to come it is impossible to visualize road transport by itself being able to give an efficient service to the community. It will show, in fact, that the continuation of the railways is an imperative national necessity. This being the case, development along present lines cannot be allowed to continue.

I am convinced that there is no real remedy for the present state of affairs except active State intervention, and this can only be effected by the State acquiring and controlling, in the interests of the community as a whole, the main transport systems of the country—in other words, the Great Southern Railway and its two road subsidiary companies. I would have the management and general direction of the transport of the country placed under a Director of Transport, who would be assisted by a small board of advisers, each of whom would be an expert in his own particular walk of life, such as finance, industry, agriculture and

labour. The new Transport Authority should be given power to acquire, as it thought desirable, other transport concerns, and should be given ample powers for the regulation, restriction and control of transport throughout the State. The Authority would be answerable to Parliament for its actions through a Minister for Transport or the Minister for Industry and Commerce, who is now the responsible Minister for transport services.

I do not worship nationalization as a fetish; but, as in the case of a national electricity supply, I cannot see any other means of bringing order out of the existing chaos. A central authority, with drastic powers, is imperative, and I cannot see in whom that authority can be vested except the State or somebody directly responsible to the State through Parliament. The Post Office is surely an outstanding example of State efficiency and regularity, and Posts and Telegraphs are only another branch of transport. Nationalization of the remaining forms of transport would be merely extending the activities of the Post Office. Indeed economies could be effected in regard to the conveyance of parcels, mails, etc., and there are many cases in which the railway station or bus depot might also be used as the local Post Office in sparsely-populated districts, thus making for economy and efficiency. In fact, there is no reason why the same Minister should not control transport generally as well as Posts and Telegraphs.

J. T. O'FARRELL

No. 4.—BY EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J., M.A.

MR. MACLYSAGHT'S advice that facts should be faced in this problem of the railways loses nothing of its soundness by not being a very original or recondite suggestion. The trouble is that it is so true and so oft-repeated a contention that it will inevitably meet the fate of all truisms and be ignored. But if by any chance facts are going to be faced in this matter, let all the facts, not merely a select few, be faced.

First and foremost, in my opinion, the financial facts of the Irish railways should be faced. There are a considerable number of years of Irish railway financial history which should be investigated on behalf of the community by some firm of auditors. The facts and figures which should be faced are : (1) the total amount of money distributed as interest or dividend since railways were introduced ; (ii) the total amount of money distributed to the actual workers of the railways in salaries and wages for the same period ; (iii) the total amount of money actually

earned by the railways (*i.e.* not the original or fresh capital issues) which was applied to renewals of the fixed capital, permanent way, rolling-stock, etc. It should be possible to secure these figures without much trouble. It seems to me that Mr. MacLysaght's figures of the nominal and real capital value of the railways are not so important as those I have mentioned above. Above all, it should be clearly settled who in equity has paid for the railways as they stand to-day—for the present rolling-stock, buildings, permanent way, etc. It is generally taken for granted that the shareholders, the owners of the railways, have paid for all these—not only at the commencement, but even up to the present day. It may be so : an investigation might clearly establish this fact. But on the other hand, it may not be so : it might be found that in equity a great portion of the present fixed capital of the railways should be put to the credit of the users and the workers of the railways for the past seventy or eighty years. Before any final solution of this problem is decided on, the whole of the accounting side of the question from a moral, social and economic point of view should be gone into.

Another fact that should be faced is that the railway authorities could and should have foreseen the danger of drifting into the present difficult position. Anyone who had studied the matter could easily have foretold ten years ago the main lines of development along which things have moved. Indeed, in the pages of *Studies* nine years ago (June 1923) the following sentence occurred: "If an important commission put the annual value [of the railways to their owners] at £1,000,000 for the future it would probably be acting generously." Nearly two years later the newly set-up Railway Tribunal fixed the standard net revenue at £1,169,899 per annum. And now we have the word of the Chairman of the Great Southern Railway that, "instead of the net revenue fixed by the Tribunal maturing in any one year, there has been an average deficiency of half a million pounds annually on the whole undertaking" (*Irish Times,* 10th Aug., 1932). The same gentleman speaks of the failure of the 1924 Act to give railway stability and prosperity as being due to "reasons which could not have been foreseen." With all due respect it was quite obvious ten years ago what would happen to the railways unless certain steps were taken both by the Government and by the Companies. The Government did barely half of what it should have done in the matter ; the Companies did exactly what they were compelled to do by the Railway Tribunal, and with a woeful lack of foresight neglected to do in 1923 and 1924 what they are trying, too late,

to do now. In the article mentioned above and written in 1923 it was pointed out that "the closing down of a number of stations, the cutting off of a number of trains, and the organisation of an auxiliary motor service in certain districts" might very easily be the only way to ensure efficiency in the railway service. It was also stated that a reform of the classification of goods and the whole system of rates was needed—a point stressed in Mr. MacLysaght's article above. But the main fact to be faced is that the railway authorities could and should have foreseen all this ten years ago: the country should not suffer now for their lack of foresight and enterprise. When the Railway Tribunal, on 4th July 1932, declared that "the deficiency [of £499,455] was not due to lack of efficiency or economy in the management," it must have been using mental restriction of some type. Surely it is lack of efficiency not to foresee what is staring one in the face, and not to take timely means to meet obvious difficulties.

The chief fact to be faced by the railway workers is the fact of their remuneration for the good service they give the country—and this applies to the whole staff from the manager down. I cannot agree with Mr. MacLysaght that the railway workers should be asked to make sacrifices. It seems to me that one of the two really hopeful features of the situation is that the 12,000 or so workers are getting a reasonable living out of their work on the railways. In a recent speech (*Irish Times*, 10th Aug., 1932) Sir Walter Nugent seems to find some cause of regret in the fact that wages on the railways are generally 140 per cent. over pre-war, although the cost of living is only 59 per cent over pre-war. He even expresses the hope that the workers will agree to substantial alterations. One would think that the railway men were living in a state of comparative affluence at the expense of the Company. Sir Walter Nugent seems to be looking on the workers' remuneration in the bad old way as "costs." Wages are not "costs"; human labour is not a "commodity" for sale or a raw material to be used up like coal. The railways are giving 12,000 men the possibility of some sort of human living: and that, as I have said, is one of the best features of the situation. It is to be hoped that the workers and the country will not let this aspect of the problem be reduced to so bad a state as other aspects. After all the very first thing the railways ought to do is to pay their men a reasonable wage. The burden of proof that even the highest paid of the workers is receiving absolutely, not relatively, an unreasonable wage rests on Sir Walter Nugent and the Directors. It is no answer to say

that railway wages are "very much higher than comparative wages paid elsewhere." This leads logically to the old oft-condemned policy (often attributed only to socialists) of "levelling down." It is permissible to doubt whether Sir Walter Nugent would wish this "levelling down" policy to be applied consistently throughout social life.

The second hopeful feature in the problem has been the considerable reduction in expenditure: a reduction of nearly £1,500,000 for 1931 as compared with 1924. The chairman of the Great Southern Railway spoke of the Railways Act of 1924 (which compelled the amalgamation of the various companies) as an unwanted measure—"unasked for and unwanted by the main constitutent companies." From an economic point of view no measure was ever more badly wanted; without it there could hardly have been a reduction of £1,500,000 in expenditure. It was not an ideal measure, but the attempt of Sir Walter Nugent to attribute the present difficulties of the railways to this Act should not be allowed to go unchallenged.

Finally, a fact to be faced is that the persons most interested in good transport services are the workers and the users—not the mere owners. Far and away too much attention has been focussed on the owners of the railways. There have been hardships, of course; there will probably be considerable losses to be borne. But it should be remembered that people who invest money in a commercial concern necessarily agree to accept certain risks and are paid to accept these risks. To accept payment for agreeing to run a risk of loss and then, when the loss comes, to try to force someone else—say the community—to compensate one for the loss is neither good morals nor good sense. The railways are doing good work to-day in supporting some 12,000 workers and supplying a reasonable service for passengers and goods. As soon as the equitable claims of the shareholders have been discovered, all efforts must be used to meet them. But I am inclined to put the livelihood of the workers and the common good of the community before the supposedly supreme interests of the shareholders. Moreover the whole question of control of the transport services of the country ought to be overhauled. The workers of both motor and railway services ought to have a much larger share in the matter, and certainly the actual users have some right to be heard in the management. If both motor and railway transport were put under the control of a council representing workers and users among others, a step in the right direction would be taken.

E. J. Coyne

THE MISSION OF IRELAND

BY G. K. CHESTERTON

AS the Congress week drew to its end, the patch of glowing weather which had been stretched like a golden canopy, strangely and almost insecurely, began to show signs of strain or schism. There was a hint of storm in the still heat and here and there random splashes of rain. It was naturally a topic of anxious talk, and it gave birth to one great saying, which I shall always remember, as one of those tremendous oracles that sometimes come from the innocent. A priest told me he had heard a very poor threadbare working woman saying in a tram, with a resignation perhaps slightly touched with tartness: "Well, if it rains now, He'll have brought it on Himself."

This remark fitted with a queer exactitude into certain vague reflections of my own. They took the form of telling myself that I was at least entitled to pray that it might not end in a drizzle. If we could not have the strong sunshine, the next best thing would be that it should all end in one stark, startling, shouting, shattering thunderstorm; like the thunderstorm that is said to have accompanied the deliberations of the great Council on Papal Infallibility. Our enemies would doubtless say that thunderbolts were being hurled at our impious idolatry; but it would be more dignified than merely being damp. But when I heard the dark saying of the woman in the tram, I suddenly realised that the storm above the shrine would really express a duality which is one of the paradoxes of the Faith. For that great truth uttered in the tram is one of those truths that are all the more true because they seem to mean half-a-dozen different things at once. They can be taken in various

and even opposite ways; as can so many examples of French irony, polished and deceptively simple. The woman's remark might be taken as a simple and even touchingly literal expression of faith; it might be taken as a Voltairean sneer; it might be taken again, as I suggest, as one of the most profound and inscrutable of the double truths of Christian theology. For indeed, if the sky grew black above the canopy of gold, or the great monstrance blazed in the storm-flash instead of in the sun, or the temple was hung with dark curtains of tropic rain and the trumpets drowned in the thunder, it would be but the symbolic staging of a contradiction in the core of the Christian mystery; the God without seeming to sacrifice the God within; the very world of the Creator turned against the unworldliness of the Crucified; the Father accepting the death of the Son. The remark of the woman in the Dublin tram, among other things, was a remark that might very well have been made by Caiaphas or Pilate. He has rather a way of bringing it on Himself.

As has already been implied, the fears were groundless, and the good weather held up to the last and supreme day of Celebration. But the reflections I have made on the reported remark and the potential thunderstorm continued to run much in my mind, until I thought I began to see yet another aspect of the mystical truth of the tram. I will leave it to theologians to define, and even to rationalise in so far as mysteries can be rationalised; but using in my ignorance a merely popular and picturesque language (like the prophetess in the tram), I may be permitted to suggest in a general way that there is this double aspect in everything Christian, a double aspect that corresponds to the Dual Nature of Christ. There is a spiritual specialism in both aspects; sometimes it is needful to stress one and sometimes the other; but there rose in my thoughts a shadowy historical theory; at the end of which I saw in some sense transfigured, and

like a truth made new, the greatness and the significance of Ireland.

We talk of the Faith turning the world upside down. There is a deep and rather indescribable sense in which it turns the world inside out. Among the wild abstractions of mathematics, there is an idea which cannot present itself to the imagination in any image, however monstrous; which is a purely logical necessity. It is a process by which the sphere is turned inside out, the centre becoming the circumference and the circumference the centre. Something like that is among the paradoxes of Christianity, which are so puzzling to those true Christians who can only understand the platitudes of Christianity. Christianity was like that impossible mathematical figure. Christianity was a whirlwind which was the inversion of a whirlpool. There was in the heart of it some mysterious centrifugal force, by which the heart passed outwards to the extreme limit of the limbs. It was not always safe to look for the centre in the centre; certainly not to look for the life in the root. This paradox is suggested in many dark sayings in the New Testament; about the lightning shining from the east unto the west, or the children of the kingdom being cast out. They seem to suggest a remote ring of light running like a halo round the horizon; even in the day when all is darkest at the centre, and the Abomination of Desolation is sitting in the Holy of Holies.

This mystery is a fact even of history and geography. In any case, it is plain that even the home of Christ was only the place where He was homeless. It is also true in a more strange fashion of the whole secular history and destiny of that devoted place. The scene of the Incarnation seems to have become almost sealed and consecrated to the denial of the Incarnation. Before the coming of Christ, it was ruled by those Jews whose high monotheism eventually hardened and narrowed into a violent refusal of the Incarnation. After the coming of

Christ, it was ruled by those Moslems who also interpreted monotheism mainly as the denial of the Incarnation; even after the Incarnation. But even between the Mosaic and Moslem systems, which emphasised a disembodied divinity before and after Christ, there was a multitude of mystical developments, tending in the same direction, and thriving especially in the same neighbourhood. We too often forget that the Monophysite who came before the Moslem had fundamentally much the same mood as the Moslem. Heresies thronged through all the cities of the Near East, through all the roads trodden by the Apostles, heresies loudly denying the doctrine of the double nature of Christ; which was the essential paradox of the Incarnation.

Most people know that the Monophysites were the very opposite of the Modernists. Whereas the most recent heretics are humanitarians, and would simplify the God-Man by saying He was only Man, the most ancient heretics simplified Him by saying He was only God. But these mystics had in their hearts the same horror as the Moslems; the horror of God abasing Himself by becoming human. They were, so to speak, the anti-humanitarians. They were willing to believe that a god had somehow shown himself to the world like a ghost; but not that he had been made out of the mere mud of the world like a man. And the odd thing is that these cries of horror, at the very possibility of such a blasphemy happening, were most wild and shrill round the very place where it had happened.

It would be inhuman not to pity the poor Modernist or Humanitarian or Higher Critic, who set out so confidently to find the real origins of Christianity in the original country of Christ. He naturally felt that the nearer he came to the stones of Jerusalem or the grass of Galilee, the more simple the story would appear; that in the place where Jesus had lived a human life, He would admittedly appear most human; that among the actual

natural surroundings would be found the most natural explanation. If the critic had been approaching any of the common kings or heroes of history, it probably would have been true; that to find them in their homes would be to find them when they had laid aside the crown and sword, and the terrible postures of history. As the critic was approaching the perplexing Carpenter of Nazareth, it was not in the least true. There was no purely human tradition of any purely human Jesus. In so far as there was any tradition at all, lingering in the fights and factions of Greek and Judaic religion, it was the tradition of a purely divine Jesus. It was a tradition furiously upheld by all those traditionalists who wished to represent Him as wholly and solely divine. Only the orthodoxy of the Catholic and Apostolic Church declared that He was in the least human. And above all, for this is the point of the paradox, the Catholic Church proclaimed that original humanity more and more loudly as it passed away from its original human habitation. As the Church marched westward she bore with her, with ever-increasing exultation and certitude, the human corporeal thing that had been made flesh in Bethlehem; and left behind a ghost for the Gnostics and a god like a gilded idol for the Greek heretics, and for the Moslems only the fading shadow of a prophet.

It may be repeated that the emphasis on this truth, if not the truth itself, actually grew stronger as the Church marched westward, from Antioch to Rome and from Rome to the ends of the earth. And there is really a certain confirmation of this view in the fact that the mere expression of the truth, apart from the truth itself, gathered new forms of power and beauty, as its long travels took it not only far from Jerusalem, but even far from Rome. The ends of the earth shall praise Him; and some of them had powers and methods of praise that were not known even to the more civilised centre. It is true that this was only a matter of clothing the Incar-

nation in garments; as the Incarnation was itself a matter of clothing the Incredible in flesh. But it is interesting to note that the original human nature, which the Modernists seek in its oriental birthplace and the Monophysites most indignantly denied in the neighbourhood of that birthplace, unfolds itself in physical imagery most fully in the extreme occidental outposts that recognise the leadership of Rome. The Higher Critics took a frigid pleasure in referring to their human Christ only as Jesus of Nazareth; but they could not find Him in Nazareth. They could find nothing in Nazareth or twenty other holy places of the East but the flattened faces of the Greek icons or the faceless ornament of the Moslem script. In so far as He was remembered, or at least in so far as He was imagined, as a human personality and a Man moving among men, He was seen moving as in a hundred pictures, under Italian skies or against Flemish landscapes; a new Incarnation in colour and clay and pigments, which did not take place till He had reached the coloured regions of the sunset. This contrast is true, to some extent, even where the eastern tradition is orthodox and not merely "Orthodox." The tendency was always to make the image a sort of diagram of divinity; even when it was not the dark inhuman diagram of the Monophysites and the Manichees. Even the true theologians were theologians; they defended rather than described the Humanity. Western Christendom, the new empire made entirely by Rome, discovered this Humanistic development. It made the first portraits, if not the first pictures, of Christ.

In one aspect Protestantism may well seem a bigger and sillier blunder than any involved in its original doctrines or its present absence of doctrines. It might be put very shortly and crudely, by saying that the Reformation attacked the Roman Church for the faults of the Greek Church. It might be expressed, in a mere rough symbol, by saying it did not realise that Rome was itself

rather in the West than in the East. Anyhow, it assumed that Catholicism was merely stiff with gold and stark with dogma, complex in ornament, tied to a ritual remote from life; depending on mere antiquity, a gilded mausoleum; a whited sepulchre. But whether this was true or false, it was much truer of that Oriental Christianity, schismatic or even heretical, than it was of the Roman Christianity that had escaped from it by going West. If it had gone East, it would only have sunk deeper and deeper into a deep but glowing night of transcendentalism, like a tropical forest in its luxuriance and in its inhumanity; full of the faceless images and bewildering diagrams of divinity without humanity; the Asiatic religions of the abyss. There are even some dark and dreadful Christs, in the more sinister phases of Byzantine art, which really look Monophysite to the point of monstrosity; and we almost look to see a wheel of six arms holding hammers and thunderbolts. Meanwhile, the purely human figure of the Carpenter, carved by carpenters or craftsmen as simple as carpenters, was already rising on shrines and pedestals far away, in the crypts of Rome or the niches of Rouen. There was something symbolic, like a mysterious repetition of the Flight into Egypt, in the way in which the Mother, carrying the Divine Humanity in her arms, took refuge in the Roman world of the West; and seemed still to be fulfilling some destiny even in moving continually westward. It was as if, in some fairy tale about sunset and the islands of the blest, there was to be discovered somewhere a softer air or a more quiet light, in which the God could most freely show Himself as a Man; taking on an intimate and domestic character forgotten in the heat and the hard abstract feuds of the fiery places of His birth. Western art, Western legends, Western customs of Christmas or Easter, gradually unfolded the fulness of the Manhood, with which dwelt the fulness of the Godhead bodily. It was not, of course, what modern sentimentalists mean

by a human Christ; for that is not a human Christ, even if it is a human Jesus. But it is something that is, up to a point, perhaps better expressed by craftsmen and carol singers than by controversialists and merely combative dogmatists; and to develop this domestic, poetic and popular sentiment, in the complex of Catholicism, has been even from early times, the mission and function of the West. An embodiment of it in an unique, tender and tragic form has been the special mission of the Irish.

Ireland, combining a remote position with a close loyalty to the Papacy, was enabled to be, if we may use both words in their rarest and best sense, at once Roman and Romantic. Her religion has always been poetic, popular and, above all, domestic. Nobody who knows anything of her populace will think there was ever any special danger that her Deity would be only a definition. He was always so intimate as rather to resemble, in a pagan parallel, a household god or a family ghost. Ireland was filled with the specially human spirit of Christianity, especially in the sense of the pathetic, the sensitive and the great moral emotions that attach to memory. But Ireland had to develop this element under conditions that differentiated her from most Catholic countries. She was too poor and too oppressed to shelter the Divine Humanity under the roof of mighty cathedrals or even to paint His coloured shadow upon frescoes or palace walls. Lying so far north, she had been caught in a bleak intellectual blizzard that was as dry and destructive as the sand-winds of the Iconoclasts and the Manichees. She went down in a struggle with the northern heresies; especially with a Calvinism that came rather from the Scotch than the English; but which was unfortunately supported by the whole force of English wealth and war material. Under these circumstances, her natural western mission of asserting the Divine Humanity was not only checked and limited, but even when it grew stronger, took on a particular character.

The praise of embodied divinity took on the disembodied character of words or even of silence; of a speech that had the intensity of a whisper; of a tradition that was compelled to all the vigilance of a conspiracy. But the whole was so vividly of this positive and personal sort, that I have little doubt that the return of liberty and prosperity to Ireland will mean the development of that Christian craftsmanship in which she once taught the world in the decorative designs of the Dark Ages. Any impression so atmospheric must appear arbitrary, and it would be idle to mention the multitude of small experiences that have seemed to me to point to such a destiny. I will only mention two things out of a thousand; one an old story which I heard and even recorded long ago; the other a small incident that quite recently happened to myself; but in both of which is expressed with a certain emotional exactitude the shade of fact and feeling that I mean. The first is a story I heard in Donegal twelve years ago, but I know nothing of the origin of the story. It told how someone had met in the rocky wastes a beautiful peasant woman carrying a child, who, on being asked for her name, answered simply: "I am the Mother of God and this is Himself, and He is the boy you will all be wanting at the last." I had never forgotten this phrase, which expresses the spirit of which I speak in a language which is a natural literature; and I remembered it suddenly long afterwards, when I fancied I had found something that expressed it also, not in literature but in sculpture.

I was looking about for an image of Our Lady which I wished to give to the new church in my neighbourhood, and I was shown a variety of very beautiful and often costly examples in one of the most famous and fashionable Catholic shops in London. It was a very good shop, and the proprietor was not to blame if the nature of the find was something of a parable. It is the glory of the great cult of Mary that she has appeared to painters and

sculptors under a variety of bodily types almost wider than the actual variety of all the women in the world. She has been the patroness of so many lands and cities that she has become the centre or the prop of every scheme of ornament or school of architecture; and her garments have been made of all the materials of the world. Here there was everything, from what some would call the conventional dolls of the Repository to what some would call the harshest caricatures of the Primitives. But somehow I felt fastidious, for the first time in my life; and felt that the one kind was too conventional to be sincere and the other too primitive to be popular. There were types of the bronze Byzantine gloom and types of the cereal Flemish exuberance; extravagances of Renaissance drapery, wrought in enamel or in metal, sprawling like a wheel of wings yet poised like a pillar; delicate figures in ivory or dark figures in ebony; all the multiform manifestations of the most profound inspiration of the arts of our race. But, for some reason, as I have said, they left me not indeed cold but vague, and I ended prosaically by following the proprietor to an upper floor, on some matter of mere business; the receipting of an old bill, or what not. But the upper room was a sort of lumber room, full of packages and things partially unpacked, and it seemed suddenly that she was standing there, amid planks and shavings and sawdust, as she stood in the carpenter's shop in Nazareth. I said something, and the proprietor answered rather casually: "Oh, that's only just been unpacked; I've hardly looked at it. It's from Ireland."

The colours were traditional; but the colours were not conventional; a wave as of green sea had passed through the blue and a shadow of brown earth through the crimson, as in the work of the ancient colourists. The conception was common and more than common, and yet never merely uncommon. She was a peasant and she was a queen, and in that sense she was a lady;

but not the sort of sham lady who pretends to be a peasant, nor the sort of sham peasant who pretends to be a lady. She was barefoot like any colleen on the hills, yet there was nothing merely local about her simplicity. I have never known who was the artist and I doubt if anybody knows; I know only that it is Irish and I almost think that I should have known without being told. I have heard of one other man who felt as I do, and went miles out of his way at intervals to revisit the little church where the image stands. She looks across the little church with an intense earnestness in which there is something of endless youth; and I have sometimes started, as if I had actually heard the words spoken across that emptiness: *I am the Mother of God and this is Himself, and He is the boy you will all be wanting at the last.*

G. K. Chesterton

HEINRICH BRÜNING

BY PROFESSOR DANIEL A. BINCHY, M.A., PH.D.
Irish Minister to Germany, 1929–1932

ON May 31st of this year the London *Times*, a journal which one does not associate with facile enthusiasms, began its leading article with the following sentence: "Dr. Brüning yesterday resigned the German Chancellorship after holding it for two years with a steadfastness, resolution, and political skill which have given him a secure place among the foremost statesmen of Europe." These are strong words; but anyone who has had the privilege of watching the late Chancellor's work at close quarters will fully endorse them. For the general public of other countries the magnitude of his achievement has been somewhat obscured by Brüning's disdain for anything savouring of publicity or self-advertisement. But his life and services bear eloquent testimony to his greatness as a statesman, and it is the purpose of this article to give some account of them.

Heinrich Brüning was born on the 26th November, 1885, in Münster, the capital of Westphalia. His father, of peasant origin, had built up a prosperous business in the town, and when he died two years after the birth of his second son, his family were left in comfortable circumstances. Brüning was accordingly able to gratify an early developed thirst for knowledge by studying at various German Universities—Munich, Strasbourg and Bonn—for a much longer period than the average young German in search of a career. During those years of study he laid the foundations of a knowledge which is astonishing in its extent and versatility. Almost every branch of learning seemed to interest this shy and silent young man, who took little part in the noisy relaxations of German

student life. For over ten years he attended lectures in philosophy, literature, philology, music, history, politics and economics. It was not until early in 1915 that he presented his Doctorate thesis.

But not all his student years were spent in his own country. He had the good fortune to become acquainted at the most impressionable age with Germany's two great neighbours, France and England. A long residence in Normandy with friends of his mother's family gave him a fluent command of French and an appreciation of the French temperament and mentality which few Germans succeed in acquiring. But a deeper and more lasting influence seems to have been made upon him by a two years' residence in England. His brother Hermann, senior by more than ten years, was now a priest on the mission in London, and Heinrich Brüning spent most of 1912 and 1913 with him. The English character and the English constitution exercised a strong attraction for him. He studied English literature, and it is significant that even at that early age his favourite author was Walter Pater. A manuscript work on the latter is still buried among his papers. But he was equally interested in English political and economic problems, one of which provided him with a subject for his dissertation. "The legal and economic basis of the British railway system, with special reference to the question of nationalization," was the title of his thesis, and again it is significant that he defends the English system of private ownership—subject, however, to certain powers of regulation by the State.

Before this dissertation was quite finished came the Great War and the call to arms. Brüning was ready to respond immediately; but the army doctors declined to pass the frail looking student. Not until 1915 was he able to secure admission as a volunteer. From this to the end of the war he saw service on the Western Front. His war experiences cannot be recounted here. It must suffice to say that he was twice wounded, promoted to be sergeant-

major, and later lieutenant, and mentioned several times in dispatches. The war was for Brüning a turning-point in his life. A man whose interests had hitherto centred in theoretical questions was brought into contact with reality in its grimmest aspect. But neither shocks nor disillusionments could unnerve him or shatter his philosophy of life. Unlike so many others, whose experience merely served to cut them adrift from all moorings, Brüning's character, anchored to a firm religious faith and a genuine love of knowledge, emerged from the ordeal purified and strengthened. To the war he owes much of that iron discipline which he both practises himself and demands of others. "Anyone," he wrote some years later, "who has been through this war, with its terrible yet glorious experience, and who has not allowed the latter to reduce him to spiritual indifference and despondency, must be strengthened in the conviction that the world's difficulties can only be overcome by sacrifice, selflessness and voluntary discipline."

When, in 1918, collapse and revolution came, Brüning did not return to his books. Full of the ideal of service learned in a hard school, it was but natural that he should endeavour to place his enthusiasm and talents at the disposal of his sorely tried country. From his earliest years he had been more than academically interested in politics, and this interest had been accentuated by his study. True to his ancestry and upbringing he had always supported the Zentrum, the Catholic Centre Party; but he was far from approving all its tactics in the years immediately following the revolution. Essentially conservative in temperament, he disliked what he regarded as an unnecessarily violent swing to the left, and in particular he distrusted the leadership of the brilliant but not over-scrupulous Erzberger. He was even opposed to the acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles.

Early in 1919 Brüning became secretary to Dr. Carl Sonnenschein, the priest social reformer, who had been

for many years associated with the *Volksverein*, the great German organization for Catholic Action. Within the framework of this organization Sonnenschein was endeavouring to build up a federation of Catholic students. For several months Brüning co-operated in this work, organizing conferences, addressing student bodies, enrolling members. No doubt he found the work congenial; but a chief so different in temperament must have frequently tried his patience, for Sonnenschein was a typical Rhinelander, warmhearted, impulsive, volatile—a great contrast to the taciturn, reserved and efficient Westphalian who was now his secretary. Both men, despite their disagreements as to organisation and methods, remained close personal friends, and their collaboration was fruitful while it lasted. But it was not Brüning's vocation, and he must have hailed with relief his appointment in September, 1919, to be Private Secretary to the Prussian Minister for Public Welfare, Adam Stegerwald.

Ten years older than Brüning, Adam Stegerwald is the acknowledged leader of the trade union section of the Zentrum. He has been Prime Minister of Prussia and a member of several Reich governments: in the two Brüning Cabinets he was Minister for Labour. His many services to Germany cannot be chronicled here; but his greatest service—the work of federating the *Christliche Gewerkschaften*, the most powerful organisation of Christian workers in the world—was carried out in conjunction with Brüning. To the latter fell the gigantic task of organizing the new body; for Stegerwald, owing to his political functions, was debarred from taking an active part. Brüning was ubiquitous and indefatigable; holding conferences, settling disputes (and there were many in the early stages), amalgamating some unions and founding new ones, even for a time editing the journal of the new organisation, *Der Deutsche*. Already the frail looking student of thirty years—the last person one would have

expected to be successful with organized workers—was displaying qualities which showed him to be a leader of men. It was noted by his colleagues that he shunned as far as possible publicity and speech-making. It says much for his personality that, without cultivating any of the arts of popularity, he remained for ten years the trusted leader of this federation.

In 1924 Brüning was placed on the Zentrum list for the constituency of Silesia and was elected to the Reichstag. It may appear surprising that, as representative of the labour section, he should have attached himself from the beginning to the right wing of the party. But anyone who had read his articles in *Der Deutsche* must have realised that Brüning, while in social matters a progressive, was politically a conservative. For the matter of that, so is Stegerwald. Indeed the main idea behind the Christian Trade Unions is to detach the workers from political and cultural Socialism by securing for them all the economic and social benefits which Socialism promises them. Their leaders, while at variance with the Socialists in matters of foreign and domestic policy, do not hesitate to make common cause with the latter in all measures for the improvement of the worker's lot.

Ever since the revolution—and now more than ever—the Zentrum holds the key position in Germany. Alone of the middle parties it has weathered all the storms of political radicalism, both from the left and the right; and even after the recent elections, during which it was attacked more fiercely and unscrupulously than any other party by the Hitlerites, it stands "like Teneriffe or Atlas unremoved." This key position carries with it the responsibility of deciding (at least under the parliamentary system) what coalition is to govern Germany. For some years after the revolution the Zentrum had no option but to govern with the middle parties and the left; for the so-called "Nationalists" contented themselves with sulking in their tents and shirking all political respon-

sibility. In no country in Europe was the conservative principle, a most valuable factor in every national polity, so badly served. But in the course of time the more intelligent spirits in the Nationalist party, weary of a policy of futile negation, tried to assert themselves. In place of mere reaction they put forward a constructive conservatism; they were willing to jettison (or at all events to abandon temporarily) some of the ornamental trappings of the past—such as the monarchy—in order to fight with more prospect of success for the maintenance of its best traditions. In social matters also they were ready to make concessions to the new generation, remembering that Bismarck, a conservative if ever there was one, had been a pioneer in social legislation.

The leaders of the Zentrum had a real interest in this movement. If it succeeded, it would mean that they would be free to choose their allies in the task of government from the right as well as from the left, and this has always been the Zentrum's desire. After bitter fighting in the Nationalist party, the progressive element committed the party to a coalition with the Zentrum and the Volkspartei (Stresemann's party) under the Chancellorship of Dr. Marx, the leader of the Zentrum. As a result of this alliance the Nationalists actually supported a far-reaching Unemployment Insurance Bill introduced by the Zentrum Minister of Labour, so that this most important piece of social legislation received the votes of every party in the Reichstag except the Communist. But this promising co-operation was not to last. The forces of reaction among the Nationalists grouped themselves round Dr. Hugenberg, a German press-lord of vast wealth and limited intelligence. The Zentrum also was not unanimous in its support: its left wing led by Dr. Wirth, a former Chancellor and inheritor of the Erzberger tradition, believed that the association with the Nationalists was a retrograde step. In 1928 the experiment came to a violent end, and the General Elections held in that

year seemed to justify Wirth's opinion; for the three coalition parties suffered reverses—the Nationalists losing no less than 25 seats. The Socialists gained correspondingly, and once more the Zentrum had no option but to accept them as allies.

Brüning had been one of the warmest supporters of the coalition with the Nationalists. He saw in it a golden opportunity to strengthen the Zentrum's position by leaving it an untrammelled choice of allies. The Zentrum, he thought, stood to gain in many ways from this coalition: in cultural and educational matters it stood much closer to Conservatism than to Socialism. This was evidenced by the fact that a measure governing education in the Reich—a question on which the Zentrum and the Socialists had never been able to agree—had been hammered out and might have become law if the coalition had lasted longer. So too with the conduct of foreign affairs. Brüning was never a Chauvinist; but he believed that in conjunction with the Nationalists it would be possible to pursue a "firmer" foreign policy. But on no point was he more anxious for association with the Nationalists than in regard to the national finances. This was now his special subject.

Immediately after his election the Zentrum had appointed Brüning its representative on the Taxation Committee of the Reichstag, and on all financial questions he was its recognised spokesman. He had long followed with growing apprehension the chaotic economic conditions of Germany, for much of which he blamed its former governments. After the inflation came the period of *Scheinblüte*, during which American and other foreign capitalists had simply pumped money into Germany in the form of short term loans. That German industry needed capital Brüning naturally recognised; but he doubted the wisdom of grabbing it from all and sundry for a grandiose expansion of business which economic conditions did not warrant. He believed that the Reich

should have exercised some sort of supervision. But the Reich itself was a principal offender. It had been paying reparations with borrowed money and bridging huge deficits with foreign credits. Consequently it was not in a position to rebuke extravagant municipalities, which cheerfully voted costly undertakings, public buildings, swimming baths, artisan dwellings, and then sent the bills to the Reich. In 1925 an attempt was made by the Nationalist Minister for Finance, von Schlieben, to reform the system of taxation and set drastic limits to expenditure, both national and local, Brüning supported him through thick and thin. He did not hesitate to attack the squandermania of Cologne under its all-powerful Burgomaster, Dr. Adenauer, one of the leaders of the Zentrum in the Rhineland. Already he was showing what he later declared to be first essential of statesmanship, "the courage to be unpopular." When it was proposed to increase the salaries of public officials, he pointed out that the money would have to come from foreign creditors, that the proposed increase would inevitably be followed by a rise in prices, and that ultimately the Civil Servants would find themselves worse off than before. Every word of this prophecy came true.

The collapse of the coalition with the Nationalists destroyed all chance of von Schlieben's reforms being adopted, and Brüning, with a heavy heart, could only watch the rake's progress and protest from time to time in the Reichstag. Early in 1930 came the crisis which he had long foreseen. The Young Plan was the centre of an embittered controversy in the Reichstag, which at times threatened to split the government coalition of Socialists, Volkspartei, Democrats and Zentrum. Brüning, who spoke for his party, showed no enthusiasm for the new Plan, though he recognised that it was an improvement on its predecessor, the Dawes Plan. The Zentrum, he said, would vote for it only on one condition : that the task of restoring order in the national

finances be taken in hand immediately. In a remarkable passage of his speech he warned the various parties that they would ruin themselves and the whole parliamentary system, if they did not abandon popularity-hunting and shoulder the heavy responsibility which was now being laid upon them. The Socialist Chancellor, Hermann Müller, announced his acceptance of Brüning's condition, and the Young Plan became law.

Brüning was now the formal leader of his party in the Reichstag. A few months before he had been elected Chairman of the Parliamentary Zentrum, the President of the party being his friend Mgr. Kaas. The importance of this new post lay in the fact that it brought him into regular contact with the President of the Reich. Despite the great differences between them in age, religion, education and tradition, each was instinctively attracted to the other; for both had many qualities in common—devotion to duty, disinterested patriotism, spirit of discipline and self-sacrifice. But they had further ground in common. Both were conservative by temperament, distrustful of the Socialists, and anxious to dam the rising tide of radicalism, whether Hitlerite or Muscovite. When therefore the Müller Government fell, having clearly demonstrated its inability to balance the Budget by unpopular reforms, the President naturally turned to Brüning to form a Cabinet.

In some ways Brüning's commission differed from that of his predecessors. The new Cabinet was to be formed "without distinction of party ties"; it was to be, in theory at least, independent of party bargains—in other words, it was to be a "Presidential Cabinet." Hindenburg gave the assurance that he would support, by every constitutional means in his power, his Ministers in the heavy political and financial tasks ahead of them. This was equivalent to a promise that, should the Reichstag fail to adopt the necessary measures of reform, these would be enacted by the exercise of the special powers

given by Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution. In cases of grave emergency this Article empowers the President to promulgate "emergency decrees" (*Notverordnungen*) which shall have the force of laws, unless they are set aside by a majority of the Reichstag within a given time. As the President can dissolve the Reichstag at any time, the rejection of such a decree may mean a General Election, a fact which makes many members hesitate before taking this extreme step.

On April 3rd, 1930, only five days after he had received the President's commission, the new Chancellor presented his Cabinet to the Reichstag. In a speech of remarkable firmness, having outlined the programme of the new Government, he declared that the parliamentary system in Germany was now definitely on its trial and that the question of the use of Article 48 would be decided by the Reichstag itself. The Reichstag, unaccustomed to such firm language, gave the Government a majority for their proposals to balance the budget. But the real issue came in July. The Government in the meantime worked out a plan for the restoration of financial order, involving cuts in salaries and in the social services. It became clear that the Socialists, mainly through fear of losing votes to the Communists, would not support the new measures, and accordingly these measures were embodied in two emergency decrees promulgated by the President on July 16th. A few days later the Reichstag met to define its attitude. The Socialists, in the foolish belief that Brüning would be willing to "bargain" in the traditional manner of coalition politicians, voted with the Nationalists and Communists for the resolution to suspend the new decrees. The same evening Brüning advised the President to dissolve the Reichstag, and ten days later a new emergency decree—even more drastic than its predecessors—was promulgated and remained in force pending the meeting of the new Reichstag.

Some foreign students of German politics have blamed

Brüning for taking the extreme step of dissolving Parliament without further negotiations. It is difficult to understand this criticism. The Chancellor had made it clear what the consequences of rejecting the emergency decrees would be. He had weighed the costs. The costs, however, were heavy. At the General Elections (Sept. 14th) the desperation obtaining among a large section of the German people found expression in the formidable increase of the radical parties. The National Socialists (Hitlerites), hitherto an insignificant handful, secured 107 seats—thus becoming the second largest party in the Reichstag. The vast bulk of Hitler's new adherents (apart from the newly enfranchised) were drawn from those who had hitherto supported Hugenberg and the other parties of the right—all of whom, with the Socialists, lost heavily. The Zentrum alone of the moderate parties not merely stood its ground, but increased its poll by nearly half a million—a significant tribute to the Chancellor. Still the latter's difficulties were gravely increased by the election. Hitherto he could count on a majority in the Reichstag, provided the Socialists remained neutral. In the newly elected house he could not secure a majority without the positive support of the Socialists (still the largest party) or the Nazis.

I well remember the excitement in Berlin after the election results were known. The air was thick with conflicting rumours: military dictatorship, coalition with the Nazis, fresh dissolution. Amid all the sound and fury only one man remained perfectly calm—Brüning. His Government continued their work as if nothing had happened, and on October 16th the Chancellor faced the new Reichstag. Ignoring the volley of insults and interruptions from the hooligan element in the National Socialist party, he quietly announced that the Government regarded the retention of the emergency decrees as an indispensable part of their programme. Once more the issue was knit. But the Socialists had learned their lesson. They realised

what rejection would mean, and accordingly they decided to " tolerate " Brüning, despite their disagreement with much of his policy. The motion to cancel the emergency decrees was defeated by 318 to 236. The Chancellor had won.

During the two years which followed, Brüning ruled Germany as a kind of constitutional dictator. All the important legislation necessary to meet the various crises was promulgated in a series of emergency decrees. The Reichstag was only summoned at intervals, and then merely to approve or cancel the presidential decrees. This procedure enabled Brüning on the one hand to preserve the forms of parliamentary government, and on the other hand it made it easier for the Socialists to continue their policy of " toleration " ; for they were not obliged to give a definite vote for any of the unpopular measures contained in the decrees—they merely rejected the motion to cancel the latter. Still their position was exceedingly delicate and the subject of much criticism ; but their patriotism and good sense prevailed, and they continued their support of Brüning down to his last day in office.

If the Socialists gave their support, however reluctant, the Nazis on the other hand, in an effort to destroy Brüning, were ready to pull down the pillars of the State, and they nearly succeeded. The foreign capitalists (chiefly American) who had advanced money to German banks and industries were frightened by the growing strength of Hitler's revolutionary movement, and they began to refuse further credits except at fantastic rates of interest. Parallel with this went a steady flight of German capital abroad. Then came the collapse of the Austrian *Kreditanstalt*, and this was immediately followed by the calling in of foreign credits from the German banks on a gigantic scale. Rumours of the impending failure of the great banks caused a panic among German depositors, and withdrawals assumed such proportions

that early in June, 1931, the Danat Bank, one of the largest and most enterprising concerns in Germany, was compelled to suspend payments. Brüning, the conservative, was forced to adopt measures which involved state interference on a scale unequalled outside Soviet Russia. A government decree closed all banks and stock exchanges in Germany; the Reich guaranteed all private accounts in the Danat Bank; the latter was then taken over by the Dresdener Bank, and a new corporation, with the Reich as principal shareholder and controller, was formed. At the same time the foreign creditors were invited to Berlin, and after tortuous negotiations a "standstill" agreement was signed. Brüning has been criticised for not having intervened earlier in the crisis; but at least all his critics are agreed that once he did intervene, his handling of the situation averted a disaster which would have shaken the economic life of Germany to its foundations.

It was naturally in the domain of foreign affairs that Brüning was best known to the public of other countries. No other German statesman, except perhaps Stresemann, made such an impression on his opposite numbers in other capitals. With Great Britain his relations, helped by his knowledge of England and the English language, were always most cordial. France was in a different category; and it says much for Brüning's courage that at a time when the German Nationalists of all sections were engaged in vehement denunciations of France for her attitude towards President Hoover's proposal, he made a graceful gesture of goodwill. In a broadcast message about the Hoover Moratorium he spoke feelingly of the tragic circumstances which had operated in the past to keep the two great neighbouring nations apart and stated that he would welcome an opportunity of conversations with the leading members of the French Government for the purpose of seeking a basis of agreement. The French Government immediately responded, and a few weeks later Paris gave a warm welcome to the

first German Chancellor to enter her gates since 1870. Though no definite agreement was arrived at, nor was it expected by either side, yet the personal contacts established by this visit and by the return visit of Laval and Briand to Berlin were most valuable, and the establishment of the Franco-German committee of economic co-operation marked a real advance along the path of reconciliation.

The main strength of Brüning's position had always lain in his relations with Hindenburg and the implicit trust which the President placed in him. Many touching stories of their intimate personal relations used to circulate in Berlin. On more than one occasion Brüning, whom his most hardened enemy would not describe as demonstrative, spoke with obvious feeling of the privilege which he felt to serve under Hindenburg, whose strength and confidence supported him in the most difficult times. But it is no belittlement of the President's admirable qualities to say that he has no talent for politics (how could this be expected from a man of his training and traditions ?). As long as Brüning possessed his confidence, he supported him and his policy with unflinching loyalty. But he personally remained what he had always been, a Junker and a Royalist, and the unceasing campaign of his friends of the right against Brüning had at last begun to bear fruit. They sought to convince him that Brüning was a Socialist because he, who had served his political apprenticeship as leader of the Christian Trade Unions, had refused to throttle the social services in order to satisfy the reactionary captains of industry. Now, they argued, he had gone even further to the left by " disarming the national will for freedom " (Hitler's " Brown Army "). The President had been misinformed by Brüning and other unscrupulous advisers as to the real nature of the Nazis and their attitude towards himself. Had not General von Schleicher, the permanent chief of the Ministry of Defence, openly disapproved of the suppression

of the Storm Troops? And why did Brüning leave the military organizations of the left intact?

The situation was further complicated for Brüning by the results of the elections in Prussia, the key state of Germany. The enormous gain of the Nazis had destroyed the Socialist-Zentrum majority which had ruled Prussia since the revolution. The Nazis and their supporters in the press acclaimed this a popular repudiation of the Brüning regime, and Hindenburg also was induced to regard it in this light. On May 12th the Nazis, confident in their new powers, attempted to carry in the Reichstag a vote of censure for the suppression of the "Brown Army." They failed; but that same evening came the announcement of the resignation of General Groener, the man who had been most intimately associated with the suppression of that army. This had undoubtedly been demanded by the President, influenced by a powerful military clique around General von Schleicher, and it represented Brüning's last attempt to retain Hindenburg's confidence. He might have spared himself this one act of weakness. A few days later the President retired to his private estate in East Prussia, where he was literally besieged by a host of unofficial "advisers." In Berlin the Government went ahead with its preparations for the Lausanne Conference and in order to meet the financial situation drew up a new emergency decree imposing fresh taxation. On May 30th the President returned to Berlin, and the Chancellor laid before him the text of the emergency decree. Hindenburg refused to sign, and Brüning hurriedly assembled his Cabinet and resigned office without a word. His exit was as significant as his entry: he was the first German Chancellor since the revolution who resigned without having been defeated in the Reichstag. And it is typical of his attitude towards constituted authority that he has steadfastly declined to make any public statement as to the circumstances immediately preceding his resignation.

To form a correct estimate of Brüning's services to Germany it is necessary to bear in mind the circumstances under which his work was carried out. No modern statesman owes less to fortune. Called to office in a time of great emergency, he had to meet the full fury of the economic crisis, which with its disastrous reactions upon finance and politics threatened to wreck the whole structure of German civilisation. He once said that not a single day passed which did not bring him some piece of bad news. His predecessors' sins of omission, which he had so unsparingly denounced, were visited upon his head, while—as in the all-important matter of Reparations—it has been reserved for others to reap the fruits of his wise policy. Yet under all "the bludgeonings of chance" he laboured on heroically, never losing courage, and when he came to render an account of his stewardship, he could point to an imposing record. He had steered Germany through the two most difficult winters in her post-war history; he had warded off what seemed to be inevitable financial disaster; he had saved German agriculture from ruin; he had ended the chronic disorder in the national finances without impairing the framework of the social services; he had won over some of the chief powers of Europe to support the German claim for the abolition of Reparations. In the face of such achievements it was little wonder that a well-known nationalist of the old school, Freiherr von Oldenburg-Januschau, one day horrified his party managers by describing the Chancellor, in an outburst of unwilling admiration, as "the best since Bismarck."

Monsignor Kaas, the President of the Zentrum, once said of Brüning that he had achieved "a synthesis between thought and action such as one finds only among the statesmen of ancient Greece." An outside observer may be permitted to doubt whether the synthesis is quite so complete and whether thought does not sometimes weigh too heavily upon action. One of his

biographers states that Brüning's favourite novel is Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*. Not sharing this predilection, my memory of the work in question is rather hazy, but if I am not mistaken, most of its hero's adventures were in the world of ideas. Brüning's power of concentrated and clear thinking is at once his strength and his weakness. It makes him far seeing and prudent, but it sometimes makes him see too far and too much, an inconvenient quality for a statesman in these restless times. This faculty of weighing up all, the remote as well as immediate, consequences of a particular action tends to stay his hand and to make him adopt Fabian tactics. He has sometimes thought too long and too much before deciding on a particular course; witness his delay in dealing with the Nazis' challenge. On the other hand, once his decision has been made, he has shown a strength of will, a high courage and an inflexible resolution which neither threats nor entreaties could alter.

This iron will allied to a kind of spiritual serenity is the basis of Brüning's character. It is the product of self-discipline, the triumph of mind over nerves. But his strength and serenity do not spring from any exaggerated belief in himself or his mission; for he has far too much intelligence and far too much humour to regard himself, like Herr Hitler, as a heaven-sent leader. They come rather from the depths of his religious convictions. Brüning would never think of parading his religion, any more than he would think of denying it: he is the least sectarian of men, and many of his best friends in the Christian Trade Union movement and in politics have been Protestants. But even those who do not share his faith realise what an all-important part it plays in his private and public life. He is a christian statesman in the fullest sense of the word, one who knows and accepts the traditional Catholic theory of the state and its functions and is sustained in all the difficulties which beset his path by an implicit belief in the Divine purpose. His ideal of

service is concentrated on no empty abstraction ; it is part of the service of God. And this also explains the simplicity, one might almost say the asceticism of his private life. Two rooms were sufficient for his needs during his tenure of the Chancellor's palace, and he was frequently to be seen travelling in a dilapidated taxi rather than spend public money by using his official limousine. His own life is a shining example of the standards which he has set before the German people.

One might have thought that a man of this character would be regarded with pride and respect even by those fellow countrymen who disapproved most strongly of his politics. It shows the depths to which public controversy has descended in Germany that Brüning's political enemies have not hesitated to vilify and misrepresent those personal qualities which should call forth the admiration of all decent people. His piety and his austere life have evoked interpretations in the Nazi and Nationalist press which would be amusing were it not for the tragic fact that they were and are still believed by thousands of well-meaning Germans. Inevitably he was discovered to be a Jesuit, working for the enslavement of Germany to the dictates of an international Society. Other enterprising journalists, starting from the fact that his brother had been created a Domestic Prelate shortly before his death in 1924, pictured the Chancellor as a well-paid agent of the Vatican, which in pursuance of its usual pro-French policy, had commanded him to destroy the Hitler movement. One could multiply instances of such absurdities ; but suffice it to say that in this scurrilous campaign no lie was too ridiculous, no slander too mean. Unfortunately it had its effect, all the more so because Brüning contemptuously declined to take notice of it.

This brings me to another remarkable feature of his character, his utter indifference to popularity. No German statesman has ever done less to curry popular favour. It is not merely that he told his countrymen unpalatable truths and carried through unpopular reforms, but it

seemed sometimes as if he deliberately eschewed everything which might be construed as an attempt to win applause from the masses. His speeches in the Reichstag and at public meetings are models of objectivity and restraint. He has a profound distrust for rhetoric and those who use it: certainly no politician of his generation will have fewer "idle words" to render an account of on the Day of Judgment. He speaks coldly, but at times very vividly, marshalling his facts with deadly precision, appealing exclusively to the reason of his audience: listening to him in the Reichstag, I was invariably reminded of Kevin O'Higgins. Yet in private conversation, he gives no sign of this chilling reserve; he is simple, unaffected and charming. Only one notices that he is always anxious to listen rather than to talk.

What of the future? He is only in his forty-eight year; given good health, he should play a leading rôle in German politics for many years to come. During the recent election campaign he was the outstanding figure in the Moderate ranks, and it is perhaps significant that he and Hitler were the only two leaders who attracted large meetings. Yet I venture to doubt whether he will be as effective in opposition as he was in office. His talent is essentially constructive, and his sense of responsibility is too highly developed to permit him to attack merely for the sake of attacking. Undeterred by any party considerations, he will always be ready to help those in power if they seek to guide Germany along the path of peace and order. On the other hand, should his country temporarily surrender to the madness of Hitler, when the inevitable disillusionment comes, I know of no leader more fitted for the unpleasant task of repairing the damage, should he be called upon to undertake it.

And here, for the time being, we take leave of him. Having guided the destinies of Germany through two years of unparalleled dangers and difficulties, his steady hand has at last been forced from the steering-wheel. But the end is not yet.

D. A. Binchy

THE TREASON OF SIR JOHN PERROT

BY PAULINE HENLEY, M.A.

WHEN Sir John Perrot left Ireland on the completion of his office as Lord Deputy in 1588, even the Irish showed signs of regret. Anglo-Irish and English historians love to tell how the O'Neill, old Turlough Lynough, took a boat and accompanied Sir John to his ship, bewailing with tears the departure of his friend. It is evident that Perrot was extremely popular with all classes except the civil and military authorities; the throng that pressed around him as he rode was so dense that it was with difficulty that way was made for him. Even the poor, some of whom had never before beheld him, walked miles (we are told) to bid god-speed to a Governor who, ruling without fear or favour, had meted out even-handed justice to all, and had brought a sense of security even to the humblest. Far otherwise was it with his predecessor, Lord Grey, cursed by gentle and simple alike; for he, on the contrary, had left behind among the Irish of all degrees a legacy of hatred.

When Perrot came to Ireland to take up his duties as Lord Deputy, in January 1584, he brought with him the Queen's parting instructions, in which he was expressly commanded to pursue a path of justice, to lessen charges, increase revenue, and to refrain from oppressing her subjects. This programme he endeavoured to carry out quite literally, and when rebels had once submitted to the authority of the English Crown he saw no reason why they should be further molested, and he had a short way with hectoring officials who might have irritated them into a fresh outbreak. Thus he foiled the hopes of all those who had previously fattened on disorder, and to whose interests it was to maintain a state of unrest in the

country. To the enmity of the civil servants, accordingly, he added that of the military authorities. Others, like Chancellor Loftus and Marshal Bagenal, had special grievances which they were not likely to forget. Perrot himself declared that he tried to pass a subsidy for her Majesty, but was opposed by Bagenal and several other English gentlemen, and *that* (he declares) was the beginning of *their* enmity towards him. Loftus never forgave him for his action in trying to turn St. Patrick's into a college, in accordance with the instructions he had received in England for the setting up of a University. Indeed, officials of all classes mostly watched him with hostile eye, and consequently among the crowd that hastened to the coast on that fair September day in 1588, to watch the departure of this high-handed representative of the Queen, there were few sorrowing English.

It is evident from what has been already stated that Ireland would naturally be the best breeding ground for the whole plot to destroy Perrot, and it is from there that the first attack comes. Sir William Fitzwilliam, his corrupt successor, pursued the ruin of Perrot with malignant diligence. Sir John had scarcely departed when Fitzwilliam set about discrediting him and his administration. An indictment was drawn up against his policy. He passed, it was alleged, patents to lands in Ireland without the Queen's special warrant and without the assent of the Irish Privy Council. He had also nominated justices of the peace without reference to the Council, and there were further irregularities in his appointment of judges and sheriffs. In short, " he hath followed his own absolute authority according to the words of his patent." All this was leading up to a charge which, if proved, would bring Perrot to the block—the charge that he had attempted to rule independently of the Queen.

Most of Sir John's enemies were, like Chief Secretary Fenton, timid of identifying themselves openly with the attack, and no names were mentioned in this document.

The plot may fail; who knows but he may return in triumph? they argued. Loftus had already been endeavouring to induce Philip Williams, Perrot's dismissed secretary, to make revelations, but now they bethought themselves of one who could be trusted to swear to order. On February 16, 1590, Fitzwilliam sent to Burghley a letter to be delivered to the Queen. It had been brought to the Lord Deputy by one Denis O'Roughan, a pervert priest. It was dated from Dublin, January 25, 1585, addressed to the King of Spain, and signed with Perrot's name. In it the writer undertook to secure for Philip the whole of England and Ireland, if all Wales were assured to Perrot. In his covering letter Fitzwilliam informs Burghley that men ascribe the popularity of Sir John to his known affection to Rome and Spain—an ugly innuendo.

The ball was started, but something more definite was required in proof before the wary old Lord Treasurer would move. The priest was prepared to swear that he had heard the confession of this seemingly staunch Protestant—and a startling confession it was—and that afterwards he had said Mass in his presence. He was even then writing out the whole sensational story, but the work was somewhat retarded owing to the fact that one of the constable's men had bitten off a piece of O'Roughan's nose in a quarrel regarding the affair, and had so interfered with his literary activities "that now," Fitzwilliam concludes, "he can work only at short fits."

All through the months of 1589-90 witnesses were being discovered, and the case was being built up against Perrot. The defeat of the Spanish Armada had not put an end to the Spanish menace. The Duke of Parma was said to be planning another expedition from the Netherlands, and it was rumoured that the traitor Sir William Stanley was coming at the head of a new force. It might be possible to connect Perrot with these plots. O'Roughan was obligingly ready to swear any-

thing; but unfortunately his character was extremely bad, and unless stronger evidence was forthcoming there would be small chance of a conviction. Perrot himself does not seem to have realised that he stood in any danger —believing, no doubt, that such a witness would be easy to confound, for he could call on Chief Secretary Fenton and Treasurer Wallop, as well as on Mr. Justice Gardiner and Sir Thomas Williams, to testify to the utter unworthiness of O'Roughan.

Perrot's story[1] was that the priest was arrested and committed to Dublin Castle. To gain his freedom he turned informer and denounced certain of his brethren. After listening to the arguments of some of Sir John's chaplains, he professed to be convinced and received the Communion according to the Protestant rite. Then the Lord Deputy, believing that this person was in a position to give or get information concerning the relations of the Irish Lords with Spain, thought to employ him as a spy. Accordingly he was released. The Treasurer's accounts would prove that allowances were made to him on warrant for his journeys. O'Roughan, however, was soon in trouble again. It came to the ears of Miler Magrath, Queen's Archbishop of Cashel, that the pervert priest was, by trickery, getting money out of Papists. He had him arrested in Waterford, and three counterfeited warrants bearing the Lord Deputy's signature were found upon him. O'Roughan, on being examined by Sir John Perrot, declared that the forger was Henry Birde, Registrar to the High Commissioner. Both were committed to the Castle, where they remained in irons for a long time. O'Roughan again saved himself by turning Queen's evidence; he accused, on oath, his fellow prisoner, who was condemned to lose his ears and remain in prison at the Deputy's pleasure.

In order to prejudice Elizabeth against Perrot it would be well to prove that he was wanting in the respect and

[1] State Papers, Domestic, Vol. 232, No. 5.

admiration which she fondly believed she inspired in all her servants. A blow to her vanity was an unforgivable offence. Accordingly, Fitzwilliam proceeded to work up two incidents that would show what little regard the former Lord Deputy had for his Sovereign's honour, and which would demonstrate, moreover, his tenderness for traitors.

A certain Captain Woodhouse, who was serving in the west during the period of Perrot's rule, had taken from an Irish rhymer, Con O'Clerie, some verses in which, so it was asserted, the Queen was held up to scorn and Perrot lauded. They were sent to the Lord Deputy, it was said, but he took no action—nay, he encouraged bards to sing his own praises.

The second matter was even more serious. O'Rourke, one of those troublesome Irish chiefs ever ready to break out in rebellion, had devised a novel way of showing his disrespect for the Queen's Majesty. His followers had a picture or image supposed to represent her. This they tied to a mare's tail and bumped round the country, finally hacking it to pieces with their axes. Perrot, though informed of the incident, had failed to mete out punishment to O'Rourke, who was a friend of his, as would be shown by the testimony of Sir John's own messenger. The story of the picture was never proved; but when O'Rourke had paid the penalty of his rebellion and his dismembered body was displayed as a warning to others who might be tempted to make a mock of Elizabeth, the accusation of friendship with the Chief was to tell heavily against Perrot.

After the receipt in London of the letter for the King of Spain, Fitzwilliam received orders to set up a commission to inquire into the conviction of O'Roughan and Birde for forging Perrot's signature. Among the Commissioners selected, Sir Lucas Dillon, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls, warmly supported Perrot; even from the beginning Fitzwilliam had complained that he could not get the signature of

either of these councillors to any letter in which Sir John was mentioned not to their liking. But both of these men, while of proved loyalty, were of Irish birth, and consequently their championship would not avail him much. Meredyth, Bishop of Leighlin, who had been chaplain to the Lord Deputy, also threw himself wholeheartedly into the cause of his patron. But these three Commissioners had little influence with the other members, since many of them, though highly contemptuous of such an instrument as O'Roughan, were not averse to aiding in any attempt to ruin their enemy. Had not this overbearing Lord Deputy, blind to their importance and the respect due to them, stated that he would send the entire Council riding out of Dublin Castle on cabbage stalks? But still when O'Roughan appeared before the Commissioners, his reception was so far from cordial that complaint was made to her Majesty. For this and because their own evidence was so contradictory she eventually addressed a sharp reprimand to them all, with the exception of the Bishop of Meath.

After the preliminaries had been completed and much evidence, of a sort, collected, Burghley and Lord Chancellor Hatton, who were investigating the case, sent orders to Dublin on April 24, 1590, to have O'Roughan sent over to London. He was declaring that he was in terror of Perrot's friends, Sir Nicholas White and the Bishop of Leighlin; the latter had gone the length of accusing the new Lord Deputy of suborning O'Roughan. These two Councillors were also ordered to repair to London. Malachias O'Maloney, apostate Bishop of Kilmacduagh, who was imprisoned in the Castle at the time, had been sent over with Seager, late Constable of the Castle, and Thady Nolan, a pursuivant. All were to be examined.

There was at this time another prisoner in the Grate, who, in the previous month, July 1590, sent a communication to the Bishop of Leighlin in which he offered to prove who forged the famous letter. Meredyth forwarded his

communication to Burghley, but Fitzwilliam's covering comment was that this man, James Meagher, was not to be relied upon, as he was a most shameless and desperate fellow. The Deputy was, in any case, feeling rather hostile towards Meredyth and White because of their charge that he had suborned Roughan, even though Hatton had refused to credit it. Nevertheless Meagher's information could not be ignored.

Owing to the number of witnesses examined and the mass of contradictions that emerged, Hatton and Burghley felt that much time would be needed to sift the evidence; but James Meagher's sudden confession was so suspicious that it called for immediate comment.[1] He had already been examined by Commissioners, and had said nothing about the forged letter. "A strange devised tale" Burghley considered this testimony which he was now prepared to give. Meagher declared that the letter was written by one Bullock, also a prisoner, and that Sir John's signature had been forged by yet another—Charles Trevor. And all was done at the instigation of O'Roughan. Trevor was responsible for the escape of the young O'Rourke—Brian Oge of the Battle Axes—from Oxford when his father rose in rebellion. The intrepid Trevor had since escaped from the Castle and joined his friends. Meagher, on being examined, denied all personal knowledge of the affair of the forgery and put the onus of the whole tale on Trevor, who was now unlikely to be found. As there was an insinuation that Meagher had been bribed by the Bishop of Leighlin, he too was sent to England for further examination.

There was a sinister charge in addition against Perrot, to the effect that knowing that he had exceeded his powers, he had drawn up a pardon for himself before leaving the country, but that the Chancellor had refused to sign it. Sir Robert Dillon, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas,

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[1] State Papers, Ireland, Vol. cliv, No. 6, 445.

supplied this information, but when search was made for it there was no record of such a document.

Sir Richard Bingham, with whom Perrot had had a quarrel regarding the conduct of affairs in Connaught, would (it was hoped) also be drawn to give evidence against him. He had no cause to remember with affection the man who had tried to minimise his efforts in the west: there should be no difficulty, at all events, in getting him to testify to Perrot's laxity in dealing with the seditious rhymes, for in that matter Perrot had overridden the authority of Bingham. But the Governor of Connaught owed just as little to the party that were bent on the ex-Deputy's destruction. He proved unexpectedly lukewarm; his answers were vague and unsatisfactory.

To understand the seriousness of this charge regarding the rhymes, one must bear in mind that the poets in Ireland had something of the function of the modern journalist, who whips up public opinion in times of national stir. The bards were skilled satirists, whose power of invective was greatly dreaded; for they could raise, as it was said, the blister of shame on a person's countenance. As these compositions were recited all over the country the influence of the rhymers was powerful, and both sides were, at this time, bidding for their support; for discontent was widespread among the Irish, and there was a restless longing for change all over the land.

Bingham's answer on oath was that when Captain Woodhouse brought the rhymes, he (Bingham) summoned such of the Council as were at hand. Edward White, Clerk of the Council of Connaught, and his boy, Morrishe Courcey, translated the compositions into English. Bingham was unimpressed evidently. "Theffecte of which rymes," he says, "I do not generallie remember, for that they were not of anie moment, saving one of Occonnor Duns which was that he should be a swifte hungery greyhound and should dryve all thenglishe men over the salte sea." On departing for service in the Low Countries

he left all his papers, the rhymes among them, in a trunk in Roscommon. During his absence the rats and mice ate some of them. He sent them to Fitzwilliam as they were found, but they were not damaged past reading. They were enclosed in a paper stating how many they were and to whom they were directed, which note was written at the time the papers were put in the trunk. When the rhymers were delivered to him by Captain Woodhouse he caused them to be imprisoned, but they were released on the warrant of the Lord Deputy Perrot, which warrant Bingham produced. What he had told Perrot regarding the rhymers he could not remember; in fact he could not say whether the Lord Deputy was ever told about the rhymes they made.

Sir Richard Bingham had to defend himself against a charge that he and Sir Nicholas White were in collusion regarding the case. It was said that the two of them were interested in keeping Trevor out of the way. Bingham was accused of writing to inform White that search was being made in Ireland for the rhymes against her Majesty, but Bingham retorted that he mentioned it, as one gentleman might to another, merely as an item of news. As a matter of fact, the parcel of rhymes contained nothing that could incriminate the former Lord Deputy, and the pack that were intent on hounding down Perrot would have vented their disappointment on Bingham. The Governor of Connaught insisted, however, that there were no other rhymes taken from Con O'Clerie, as far as he knew, and if any *had* disappeared, they were appropriated by Woodhouse or somebody else before the packet came to *his* hands.[1]

Edward White, the Clerk to the Council, who was also examined in Dublin on the subject of these rhymes, related, naturally enough, to Bingham all that had passed at his examination, with the result that he was haled before the Castle Chamber,[2] fined £20, imprisoned, and deprived of his post.

[1] State Papers, Ireland, Vol. clvii, No. 24.

[2] The equivalent of the English Star Chamber.

On hearing of this charge Perrot himself solemnly declared that he had never seen the said rhymes; all that he knew was that Captain Woodhouse had detained a party of rhymers who were on their way to the Earl of Thomond, and that he had to be arrested for drawing his sword on the Earl.

By the summer of 1590 all the witnesses were in London, and Commissioners had been deputed to examine them. Malachias O'Maloney presented a difficulty. He knew little English, and the Commissioners in their desire for secrecy dared not employ the services of an Irish interpreter; so he gave his evidence in Latin. O'Roughan, who was the principal witness in this most serious charge, had to be kept under restraint till it was substantiated. The punishment for making a frivolous charge in a case of treason was severe—the accuser got the penalty he intended for the accused. O'Roughan therefore was in the Gatehouse. His honesty was, on the face of things, questionable. There was the charge of forgery on which he and Birde had already been convicted. It had been proved that they had got money out of Catholics by means of the forged warrants, but O'Roughan now calmly declared that he had been guilty of perjury in accusing Henry Birde of the forgery. Birde had lost his post in the Ecclesiastical Commission as the result of the conviction, but he could not now be restored to it as he had been found guilty of corruption. His honour, however, as far as the forgery of the signature was concerned,[1] was cleared in open court.

Much of the evidence produced before the London commission was contradictory; the priest had to be examined more than once. Still Perrot's enemies pushed the case. Even the Commissioners were not all wholly impartial; Sir Geffrey Fenton,[2] for instance, had for-

[1] He had acknowledged, on cross-examination, the forgery of the warrants, but the signature itself seems to have been the work of O'Roughan.

[2] Fenton was a born intriguer, "a Moath in all the Deputies garments of his time." (Government of Ireland under Sir John Perrot).

merly been deeply humiliated by Perrot, who had him cast into prison for a small debt due to the Crown.

As time passed and there seemed no immediate prospect of the trial, O'Roughan grew wilder in his charges; he even wrote to the Queen demanding justice against the traitor Perrot and others. He became abusive towards Burghley, Hatton and the Council. One of his perorations Burghley endorsed 'a very vayn lettre,' and another he characterised as 'fryvoloss.' He was getting uneasy about securing a conviction. He complained to Burghley that he was not believed, and that everybody but himself was untruthful! His credit had been still further lowered by a charge of bigamy—another libel!

Meanwhile Perrot, who was also under restraint, though of a mild kind, in Burghley's house, was no less impatient for the trial. This endless inquiry irritated him exceedingly, and he was anxious to have the whole affair ended. He denied absolutely that he was guilty of the charges made by the false suborned O'Roughan, who was, Sir John declared, being encouraged by Lady Dyer on the instructions of her father, Fitzwilliam. He also accused her of tampering with his former secretary, Philip Williams, who had been dismissed and imprisoned for divulging confidential matters.

At last it was decided that the evidence against Perrot was strong enough to warrant his being brought to trial, and he was committed to the Tower some time in July 1591. But still his arraignment was deferred, and the examination continued. Bingham, writing to his cousin from Dublin, declared that Charles Trevor, who knew all about the famous letter, was prepared to come in at any time and declare the facts, provided his life was assured. But the Lord Deputy, on receiving this intimation, had advised Trevor's assassination![1] Whatever truth was in Bingham's assertion, Trevor was never produced.

Meantime, the continued delay was causing O'Roughan

[1] State Papers, Ireland, Calendar (1588-92), p. 432.

acute misgiving. Beset by terrors, he contemplated making his escape to Rome or to Spain, where he could safely repent. He declared that he was seriously ill, and demanded a doctor. Next he insisted that his head was affected, and urged the doctor to declare him insane. But he had gone too far to slip out of the case so easily.

Hatton died in December 1591, and Burghley—who, whatever his feelings in the beginning, was now anxious to save Perrot—suggested that he should draw up an account showing all the ways and means he had adopted in Ireland to advance the Queen's revenues. Perrot did so, but it was of no avail; the Attorney-General Popham and the Solicitor-General Egerton presented in January the completed case against him to the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, the Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Buckhurst.

The evidence to be produced amounted to this:— Perrot had on different occasions used speeches of an insulting nature regarding her Majesty; his disloyalty was apparent from the first days of his government. His dismissed secretary, Philip Williams, was to be produced as a witness against him—though, if the truth were known, that person was at this moment regretting that he had ever been indiscreet enough to say that if the Queen and the Commissioners knew all that *he* knew, the lion's talons would soon be pared. It would be shown that Perrot favoured Papists; for when O'Roughan escaped out of Dublin Castle, the Lord Deputy would not have him re-committed, though now that O'Roughan had accused him he was trying to prove the priest a forger. There was also the case of Dr. Creagh, a notable Papist and traitor, whom Perrot refused to have arrested. His sympathies were so Spanish that he made his servant Seager Constable of Dublin Castle to ensure that it would be delivered to the Spaniards when they landed. His son, Sir Thomas Perrot, he intended should be placed in command of the Spanish navy when it came to Milford Haven. When he got orders from his Sovereign to take measures to guard

against a Spanish descent on Ireland, he had sneeringly, even coarsely, gibed at the altered attitude of her Majesty. It was evident that her orders mattered nothing to him; for when she bestowed the vacant office of Clerk of the Cheque on Captain Errington, Perrot gave it to his cousin, Sir Thomas Williams. This arrogant Lord Deputy boasted that he was King Henry's son, and because he had a parrot in his crest, applied to himself some prophecy of the Irish that a bird would benefit them. When the succession —then a burning question—was under discussion one day, the Deputy made a mysterious remark to the effect that they in Ireland would do better than the people of England, and when one of those present expressed the pious conviction that God would maintain the Queen to uphold His cause, Perrot actually laughed and said: "Never the more for her!" And this was only one of the many occasions on which he had spoken thus venomously and disrespectfully.

On April 17, 1592, Perrot was brought before the Bar of the King's Bench to stand his trial for high treason. He was arraigned on two counts. According to the first he had contemplated, in January 1587, deposing the Queen, taking away her life, and raising rebellion in England and Ireland. He was in communication with Baltinglas at Madrid; for O'Roughan had carried the letters between them. He had spoken undutifully of her Majesty, and when Pope Gregory XIII and Philip II were preparing to invade England he had promised them assistance. He had procured the notorious false traitor, Sir Bryan O'Rourke, to move and stir up rebellion in Ireland.

As Sir John listened to these charges, he felt his anger rise, and fearing that his temper would betray him into violent language, he appealed to the court, reminded them that he was an old man of sixty-four and had been long under restraint; as the confinement had probably sharpened his naturally choleric disposition, he begged their forbearance should his impatience betray him into any

passionate outbursts. But immediately after, when the Clerk of the Crown asked him if he were guilty of this first part of the indictment, striking the Bar he roared: "I am not guilty of any part of that which is laid down."

Then came the second indictment:—On May 15, 1584, he had received in Dublin a letter from the Duke of Parma, craving help for the King of Spain, and that for the purpose of these traitorous designs he had intrigued with Sir William Stanley, in an interview held in Dublin on June 30, 1585. When asked if he was guilty of this part of the indictment, Perrot, now calmed down, answered the Clerk of the Crown quietly but scornfully: "Even as guilty as you are in speaking, Mr. Sands."

In those days a trial for treason was a formal proceeding the outcome of which was little in doubt, as the prisoner was not represented by counsel, and the witnesses need not appear in person—their depositions could be read and the accused would have no opportunity of cross-examining them thereon. Sir John, bewildered by the lengthy charge, expressed doubts of his ability to keep all these points in mind, but he was assured that he would be reminded of them one by one.

The disloyal expressions were taken first. These all amounted to utterances showing contempt for the Queen, and were mainly taken from the evidence of Philip Williams, the secretary whom Perrot had dismissed for betraying official information. Sir John demanded the production of Williams in court that he might question him, but the request was refused on the grounds that Williams was a prisoner with a charge of treason hanging over himself. As a matter of fact, since Williams was showing signs of wavering, he was best out of the way.

All the witnesses whose testimony was produced were either his enemies or else had been goaded into witnessing against this unhappy man. Perrot was not prepared to deny that he might, in a moment of exasperation, have used some impatient expressions, but he steadily main-

tained from the beginning that he was never wanting in loyalty to his sovereign. However, whatever explanations he might put forward, he was obviously at a disadvantage in this battle of wits against astute lawyers, who had the rope already prepared for him.

Proceeding to detail Perrot's relations with traitors, the Attorney-General took up the case. Sir John had denied that he had favoured that known traitor, Dr. Creagh, but the fact remained that he had issued warrants for arrest only in the places where he knew the Bishop was not to be found. Here Perrot's rage got the better of him. He, a staunch Protestant for forty-six years, to be now accused of favouring Papist priests! But the Attorney-General smoothly reminded the court that a man who had endeavoured to have O'Roughan murdered by the Constable of the Castle was devoid of any religion whatsoever. Perrot demanded the production of Seager, who confirmed on oath that the suggestion was made—but, on further question, he agreed that Sir John had, on his refusal, treated the matter as a joke. Perrot agreed that he might have acted thus, for murder of a political opponent might be defended, but the charge of irreligion rankled. Brooding over that, he interrupted the case, railing at those who would make him a traitor to God as well as to his prince. The Solicitor-General retaliated that his government was extremely popular with all the Papists there. Had he not refused too to give orders for the arrest of the priest, Richard Morrice, another notorious traitor, who carried messages between Baltinglas and the Irish? And when Miler Magrath, the Archbishop of Cashel, on his own authority had him arrested, and the sheriff sent him to Dublin Castle, he was soon released. To the truth of this both the Archbishop and the sheriff swore. Still another case was that of Halie, priest and traitor, who was to be taken, but being warned, presumably with Perrot's connivance, got away. Mr. Attorney, taking these accusations as proved, bade the

jury mark that this representative of the Queen had always been a confederate and maintainer of notable traitors against her Majesty.

Then came the matter of the rhymers of the north, who had written satires reflecting on her Majesty's birth and person, and this at a time when there was rebellion in that part of the country. They were arrested by Sir Richard Bingham, but Sir John ordered them all to be released. Perrot did not deny that this was true, but he declared that by virtue of his patent he was entitled to pardon them. In this he was mistaken; for, as the Attorney-General pointed out, he had not the right to pardon treason which concerned the Queen's person. But Sir John, who had a poor opinion of Captain Woodhouse, the principal witness in this matter, attacked the witness and in trying to discredit him, quickly involved himself in irrelevancies and was ruled out of order.

In the accusation of having favoured the traitor O'Rourke, executed some time previously at Tyburn for high treason, it was urged that the Lord Deputy had taken no action in the disgraceful incident of the insult to the Queen's picture. Probably Perrot did not believe a word of this highly coloured tale, if he had ever heard it. But there would be small use in advancing that defence, for there was no gainsaying the fact that he *had* been friendly with O'Rourke; he had much in common with "the proudest man in Ireland," and the Prince of Breffny recognised that fact and trusted Perrot so entirely that he would have come, it was declared, at Perrot's summons, even if it were brought by only a horse-boy. All present were aware that all the Queen's horses and all the Queen's men would not have succeeded in capturing Brian of the Ramparts, were it not for the treachery of James of Scotland who gave him up to the English. The remembrance of it doubtless saddened Perrot, for he made little comment on this matter.

However, on the production of Sir Denis O'Roughan,

he quickly found his voice again. At sight of him Sir John raged and stormed. There was no doubt now in the minds of the jurors that this fiery old soldier was fully capable of sending the entire Council of the Queen a-packing! He scoffed at the idea of swearing such a witness, whose word was as good as his oath, both being valueless, since there was neither truth nor honesty in him!

O'Roughan proceeded to relate how he had first come into contact with the Lord Deputy. He had carried letters from Baltinglas in Spain to Feagh Mac Hugh O'Byrne and several others in Ireland. This fact becoming known to Perrot, he caused the priest to be committed to the Castle of Dublin. While imprisoned there, the witness declared, he was summoned to Perrot's bedchamber to hold conference with him, and was treated to meat and drink in an adjoining room. Moreover, the Lord Deputy gave orders that he was to have whatever he wanted. All this was a matter of secrecy between his lordship and the witness, for he entered the bedroom by a private way.

Now this tale put Sir John in an awkward position. He could not altogether deny its truth, because it was partly true. O'Roughan was a lying braggart, but as a matter of fact Perrot *had* thought of using him as a spy, believing that the priest was in a position to give, or get, information concerning the relations of the Irish with Spain, where Sir John was even then endeavouring to set up an intelligence system of his own, principally with a view to inducing the exiles to return and settle down peacefully at home. But O'Roughan was useless, as was quickly evident; he could not, or would not, even track down the priests known to be in the country. Sir John naturally did not like to be reminded of the private conference. "A mischief on thee I pray God," he shouted. "Woe be to the time that ever thou wert born, or that I ever saw thee!" Badgered and baited by the three lawyers, this hot-tempered old man fretted and fumed to no purpose. It was useless for him to seek to discredit

his accuser by objecting that a man who had changed his religion five times in six years and had tried to pass himself off as a Queen's bishop, could not be a reliable witness. He merely laid himself open to the retort: "If he were so defamed, why did you favour him so much? How many pardons did you give him?" O'Roughan might be a forger, a common drunkard, a common liar, even a witch and sorcerer, as Perrot asserted, but the fact remained that the Lord Deputy had used him. And the priest held to his story that Sir John was corresponding with Spain.

The case concluded about 11 p.m., and the jury retired. After an absence of three-quarters of an hour they returned with a verdict of guilty, but sentence was stayed till the Queen's pleasure be ascertained. The court then adjourned till May 2nd.

Perrot's only hope now was in Elizabeth, and his enemies worked hard in the interval to secure his execution. When the Court re-assembled, he was led in with the edge of the axe turned against him in token of guilt. Before sentence was pronounced, Perrot was asked if he had anything to say why sentence of death should not be passed against him. In reply he spoke for a quarter of an hour, extolling her Majesty and protesting his entire innocence of any plot against her; but when he tried to introduce a point in his own favour by thanking her for having deferred judgment six times, as he understood, he was at once interrupted by the Lord Chamberlain, who assured him that it was not on account of any doubt of his guilt that she had deferred judgment; he had been most leniently dealt with at his trial, and it was an insult to judge, jury and witnesses for him to maintain the contrary. Were all the thirty witnesses that had testified against him perjured and he alone to be believed? No—however much he spoke, nobody would believe him, for there was not a true word in all he said.

Sir John, feeling the hopelessness of his case, made a

final protest against the character of the witnesses, urging that the whole plot against him had been conceived and pushed on by his enemies in Ireland; he had been condemned on the evidence solely of Irish witnesses, and it was well known that Irishmen had no respect for an oath and that for a small price a number of them could be got to swear to anything. This unworthy statement availed him nothing. It was pointed out that there were a number of English witnesses, and these his own men.

But all this argument was futile; the only thing that could stay execution was the Queen's pardon, and Perrot was forced to confess that it had not been granted. It was close on ten o'clock when the judge, at last, pronounced sentence of death.

Back in the Tower Perrot gave vent to rage and grief. Deeply hurt by Elizabeth's silence, he could not believe that she had thrown him to the wolves. "What!" he furiously demanded of Sir Owen Hopton, with many oaths, "Will the Queen suffer her brother to be offered up as a sacrifice to the envy of my strutting adversaries?" When the sentence and this comment of Sir John's were announced to her, Elizabeth swore "by her wonted oath" that the jury were all knaves, and on the warrant for his execution being presented to her she refused to sign it and swore that he should not die; for he was an honest and faithful servant. She did not, however, release him from the Tower, and there he died a few months later of grief and disappointment. His tragedy was that conscious of his high position, and utterly fearless, he failed to realise that the more he strove to be just, the more certain he was to have the hand of every exploiter, every privilege holder, every corrupt official raised against him, implacable enemies who would bring to nought his generous schemes for the betterment of Ireland, where, as he complained to Leicester in 1587, he never had comfort for any one thing that ever he did.

PAULINE HENLEY

THE RE-DISCOVERY OF EUROPE

BY MICHAEL TIERNEY

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The Discovery of Europe. By Paul Cohen-Portheim. (Duckworth. 1932. 10s. 6d. net).

The Revolt of the Masses. By José Ortega y Gasset. (Allen & Unwin. 1932. 8s. 6d. net).

La Caravane Humaine. Par le Comte J. du Plessis. (Plon. 1932. 18 francs).

SPECULATORS in the realm of historical parallels may find a striking resemblance between the Europe of the 19th century A.D. and the Greece of the 5th century B.C. At first sight this suggestion will probably provoke a ludicrous comparison of the Parthenon or the Apollo-temple at Olympia with the Crystal Palace, the Eiffel Tower, or the Siegesallee in Berlin. Further consideration will however establish one very striking and historically very important similarity between these two apparently antipodal periods. They were both ages in which a historical process reached its culmination, and they were both succeeded by ages of hesitancy, of bewilderment, and of groping for ideals, in which a feeling of proud superiority was tempered with an equally powerful feeling of frustration. In the fifth century B.C. the Greek City-State put forth its finest flower and began to die of its own inherent disease. In the fourth century Greece became a dominant and conscious world-influence, hindered at first in its progress towards unchallenged supremacy by its oppressive feeling of disunity, futility, and wasted strength. The nineteenth century A.D.—the period which ended with the Great War of 1914—was the heyday of modern machine civilisation. Whatever may be thought

of its material products, its culture was the fine flower of unhampered materialism, its politics the triumph of liberalism, nationalism and democracy. In the twentieth century Europe has become the arbiter and teacher of the whole world, acutely conscious, as were Plato and Isocrates, of her sovereign mission, but equally conscious of her disunity, weakness, and liability to fail. Just as the fourth century produced Plato after Socrates and free games after compulsory military service, so the twentieth century has produced the motor and the aeroplane after the railway, and universal suffrage after the Reform Acts and the fall of monarchies. Yet if the nineteenth century stands forth in history as the age of self-complacency, the twentieth is marked by an unparalleled feeling of self-dissatisfaction.

This feeling is not by any means uniquely a product of the Great War. Long before there was any sign of such a calamity, Max Nordau startled and angered the world of art and literature by his book "Degeneration," in which nearly all the fashionable movements of his time were branded as *fin-de-siècle*. Nowadays nobody is certain whether we are still at the end of one age or already at the beginning of another, whether our pangs are the fatal spasms of senility or the beneficent incidents of adolescence. What all are sure of is the consciousness of *crisis*. Every event, small or great, is now a crisis, and the minor disturbances of everyday life take their places as lesser discords in the larger disharmony. The spectacular American "crash," followed by the seemingly continuous "depression," have intensified this cosmic uneasiness to the ultimate tolerable degree. The world crisis is not only economic and political; it is social, intellectual, and spiritual as well. All old values, of every kind, even the value of non-recognition of any value, are being called in question. Quite recently, in "Too True to be Good," Mr. Shaw has perpetrated what appears to be the final Shavianism. In his youth he was one of the

great disintegrating forces of modern times, a persistent questioner whose self-satisfaction in his work of destruction was only equalled by the self-satisfaction he sought to destroy. Now he perceives that the consequences of his questioning are disillusionment and despair. True, he claims to have his remedies for these consequences; none the less, the peeling of the Victorian onion would seem to have reached the stage where nothing is left in the hand of the peeler but the knife. Nor is Mr. Shaw as singular in this respect as is usual with him. Not long ago Mr. H. G. Wells, the visionary of "A Modern Utopia" and "Men Like Gods," appeared as a stern critic of the Bolshevik experiment, in which men of action fancy they are realising something not unlike his visions.

It seems, indeed, as if the more vertiginous gyrations of post-war pessimism were pretty well spent by this time, and as if the world were entering on a newer and perhaps more permanent phase of uncertainty. Both Spengler with his intellectual pretentions, and *All Quiet on the Western Front* with its appeal to the earthy and the low-brow, have receded a good distance on the way of Herbert Spencer and Charles Garvice. The "Oriental" mysticism and mystification, the vague gestures towards some cloudy deliverance to come from the amalgamated wisdom of India and China, seem to have lapsed from fashion now that India and China show such a thirst for the imperfect teaching of the West. The collapse of a few banks, a few suicides on Wall Street, have sufficed to tarnish the triumph of Americanism more effectively than all the machine-guns of Al Capone. The Five-Year Plan has faded out into a Ten-Year Plan and perhaps a Fifty-Year Plan, at the end of which in all probability the mujik will awaken to the superior comforts of capitalism and the deficiencies of the bread-queue as a permanent factor in life. Even the Talkies—unless perhaps the blame lie with the Film-Censor?—no longer present tired and crisis-harassed Europeans with the same shining vision

of a Never-Never Land in the region of the Beverley Hills. The feverish rush for escape in all directions at once—Americanism, Bolshevism, Orientalism—has slackened, and the European is beginning to consider working out his own salvation in his own way. The books before us are only among the minor signs of this re-discovery of Europe by itself, but they do serve to illustrate what is happening. Whether the road back will also prove to be a blind alley like the roads to the East and West is a matter for further consideration.

There is at any rate an overwhelming reason for the tendency these books illustrate, a reason which all of them in different ways emphasise. It is the oppressive fact that in whatever direction twentieth-century Europe may turn for her salvation outside of herself, she only finds herself in the end faced with a distortion of her own past. Europe just now is like a frightened prisoner in a chamber whose walls are those disconcerting mirrors in which he sees his own image, elongated, flattened, foreshortened or reduced to a tiny blur, in every case made appallingly ugly. Americanism with its naive belief in a continuous paradise of speculation and false credit, rationalisation and the god of the machine; Russia with its drab Utopia in which the lives and happiness of multitudes are sacrificed in the attempt to realise the thoroughly Victorian dreams of a sedentary Jew burrowing in the British Museum Library; the East with its medley of pantheism, magic, nihilistic philosophy and State worship; all are either the recent off-shoots of Europe's own violence and errors, or part of the long past of her endlessly complex civilisation. She herself, it must always be remembered, is the product not only of liberal democracy, nationalism, or the industrial revolution, but behind these again of the Christian Church, the Roman Empire, Greek art and science, and the ancient wisdoms of Mesopotamia and Egypt. She has gone through every phase of known culture, and has nothing to learn

from outside that she does not know or has not forgotten already. She has absorbed long ago what the Orient has to give her, and America and Russia are not the creators of a new heaven or a new earth, but only ill-nurtured children of her own.

Undoubtedly the twentieth century has more reason for its dissatisfaction with itself than the nineteenth had for its unique complacency. Long before the War there was evident, side by side with the splendour of mechanical progress, a spiritual disunity which was partly cause and partly consequence of this very splendour. Senor Ortega y Gasset diagnoses for us very clearly the European disease, which has become fatally intensified among outside peoples in contact with Europe. The parallel development of liberal democracy and scientific invention have produced an enormous increase in quantity and speed both of men and the materials they control, and side by side with this a new type of man. Senor Ortega y Gasset calls this new type the "mass-man," while being careful to point out that he is not found exclusively in any one social class. Count Keyserling had previously designated him "the chauffeur-type." In reality he is not altogether new; he is the modern analogue of the Roman mob whose sole interest in life was bread and circuses. Now he has an enormously extended appetite and with it no feeling of duty or responsibility. His attitude to the immense powers with which civilisation has endowed him is the attitude of a spoilt child. He contributes nothing to the sum of civilisation and expects everything from it. Science, industrial progress, culture in general, depend, as they have always done, upon an élite, a small body of disinterested thinkers and artists. The progress of liberal democracy has made mass-man the master of the State. His innate tendency is to turn the State which he controls into an all-powerful magical provider like the *jinn* in the fairy-tale. Recent events have shown very clearly that this universal

appetite, uncontrolled and unproductive in any real sense as it already has become or is in danger of becoming, may destroy civilisation by a kind of " barbarism from within," a " vertical invasion of the barbarians " in the phrase of Walter Rathenau. The political, social, and economic crises from which the world suffers are all but symptoms of the real trouble, which is the emergence of the " mass-man "—huge in numbers, appetitive, violent, intolerant, and above all indocile—from the union of liberalism with scientific invention in the nineteenth century.

Now both Senor Ortega y Gasset and the less philosophic Mr. Cohen-Portheim, whose diagnosis, while more superficial, amounts to the same thing, are both agreed that neither liberalism nor science is to be condemned unquestioningly because of the product of their union. Both see in these two mighty forces something in themselves beneficient, but neither succeeds altogether in showing how it has come about that things good in themselves should produce evil. The answer is, however, obvious enough, and is suggested by the historical philosophy of the Comte du Plessis' *Caravane Humaine*. What they leave out of account is of course the fact that both liberalism and science built upon an edifice essentially Christian in character, and took little or no thought of their foundation. Senor Ortega y Gasset acutely points out a fundamental difference between ancient and modern man, but omits to account for it. Ancient man, he says, looked always to the past : " all his living is, so to speak, a revival." Modern Europeans gravitate towards the future : " the modern nation is in itself a programme." He omits to remark that modern man undoubtedly derives this preoccupation with the future from the Jewish-Christian idea which lies at the foundation of his culture, from that Christendom upon whose divided body the liberal-mechanical civilisation has been crazily reared. The intellectual leadership of Europe during the past

two centuries, while giving free scope to democracy on the one hand and to science on the other, was at the same time busily engaged in obliterating the idea of Christendom, the religious discipline which was the only power that could tame the gigantic forces thus let loose. Instead of the Christian idea, which alone, as Comte du Plessis insists, gives a logic or a meaning to history, the modern thought has persistently striven to set up some reflex of the historical process itself, the State or science doing duty in one disguise after another for the divinity upon which all religion must rest. But these abstractions, which loom enormously in the study of the philosopher or the scientist, are nothing but shadows and emptiness to the "mass-man." Humanity, the State, the religion of science, the religion of progress, the God who never is but always becomes, are all alike powerless to say "no" to the immense appetite of the *Naturmensch*, collective or individual.

The terrible danger of this huge growth in power without any real disciplinary force is perhaps less obvious in Europe itself because of man's natural self-esteem. Even the War did not immediately impress it upon the European consciousness. What has done so more than anything else has been the spectacle of the imminent transplantation upon Asiatic or African soil, where there is no Christian foundation whatever, of European liberal democracy and science. The thought of the Chinese army with aeroplanes and machine-guns, or of the Indian ryot with manhood suffrage and a parliament, has been enough to appal the conscience of a world whose own misdeeds gave it an uneasy foreboding of the use to which these things might be put under their new control—or want of control. The disunion, internal and external, between European national States and their members, the ever-recurring phases of violence, mass-hatred, social upheavals and economic catastrophes, produced in Europe itself by its own civilisation, are a fearful index to the

state of a world permeated in less than another century with European "ideals." Just as the Roman Empire imposed upon the Western world the high and expensive culture of the Greek City State without any foundation or principle of permanence except that given by the rhetorical school and the army, so Europe is giving to the outer world the quantitative material culture of the nineteenth century with no preservative except anarchic and mutually destructive phantoms of philosophical thought. Will the results in the case of modern Europe be similar to the results in the case of Rome—a collapse of civilisation, this time brought about exclusively by internal weakness, for there will soon be no outer Barbarians left ?

The diagnosis of the disease is in itself the first step towards its cure. Unfortunately the European in his sickly bewilderment is encompassed by a crowd of quarreling physicians. There are those who recommend a further dose of the poison already drunk too deep, the preachers of Utopias where men will be like Gods, the advocates of return to nature with a newer and subtler Romanticism, the advocates of "autonomous man" with a new Humanism, the producers of newer and more complex but, alas ! no more compelling false gods from the study of the philosopher or the laboratory of the biologist. There are those, like Mr. Cohen-Portheim, who are content with a somewhat melancholy hope in the survival of European virtues, tolerance, good taste, and a reverence for tradition. It is very interesting to note that a century after Lord Macaulay, we are bidden to turn our eyes for these things to the peasantry and *petite bourgeoisie* of France, Spain, and Italy, once patronised by the admirers of Birmingham and Belfast. There is indeed some evidence of a reaction towards the better ideals of the recent past ; but when Mr. Cohen-Portheim sees hope in a production like Mr. Noel Coward's *Cavalcade*, we can only pity him for being put off with what is mere surface-romanticism.

Senor Ortega y Gasset is more robust in his ideas. He perceives that some new inspiration is necessary for Europe, something that will transcend liberalism and democracy without destroying what is good in them. But he seems to find this new inspiration in a purely political idea, an idea indeed good in itself but pitiably inadequate to cope with the appetites of "mass-man"—the submergence of warring nationalisms in a new European unity. Here again he forgets that what he preaches as something new is in reality old; for nationalism in its bad sense is one of the modern dissolvents that have obscured the older unity of the spirit in European Christendom. What he has forgotten is more important than what he has remembered: for the unity of Christendom was supplied by the religious and moral force which, resting upon a unique historical event and providing a unique philosophy of history, was capable, in spite of human frailty, of controlling at once the *libido dominandi* of the State and the appetites of the individual "Naturmensch."

Comte du Plessis' work is an eloquent and moving synthesis of history, somewhat after the fashion of Mr. G. K. Chesterton's *Everlasting Man*. In contrast to the two other works, which deal solely with modern problems, it serves to deepen the background and to emphasise the immense complexity of the European tradition, which it is the task of the future to guard. It shows us European history not as something merely recent or solely Occidental, but as the most ancient of historical movements and the one which combines in itself elements from all times and places. The one weakness of the book, perhaps, is that its author's attitude, apart from his fervent religious belief, is somewhat quietistic in face of the great modern problem so clearly visualised by Senor Ortega y Gasset. He is so much impressed by the war of the "Prince of this World" against the Church in all ages as almost to forget that after all Satan works through human instru-

ments, that the problem does not really lie in mass-movements, but in the action of individual wills. The Christian in the modern age must not altogether shut himself off from the world. Christendom and civilisation, though by no means coterminous, are now and have been for centuries deeply intertwined. It is necessary for the modern man to remember that just as we can be civilised without being Christian, so we can be Christian without being civilised. Here in fact lies the real remedy for the modern disease; not the abandonment of culture or the rejection of merely human interests, but their transformation and transfusion by the Christian hope and the individual Christian way of life. The way out for Europe cannot be found in any economic, political, social or ideological short-cut. The mass-man can only be transformed by being broken into units of personality. The true Europe, on which all the future hope of civilisation depends, *is* Christendom; and Christendom is no vague historical abstraction, but the reign of Christ in every man's soul.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

XXIII

CHRIST'S FIVE WOUNDS.

Laoiseach Mac an Baird cct.

1. Mo chaomhna ar cóig créachtaibh an tighearna
fóid ar imeamhla dá ndéantair dá dhaghdha
ar dteacht an triuaghaid go teach na toghairma
fa fodhamhna uamhain ar n-each gan aradhna.

2. Na cóig chuide an t-ampa an aigneara
go madh fliche dod ghlainliora dhamha a ndoinnfiara
an troightheach gonta dom dhíon tar a ndearnara
na gealbara 'r an chíoch chorcra dom chomhdara.

3. An chéachtra ar t'ucht do chleith mo cheanfaghla
dom bheith id dheaghadha le lucht do leanamhna
baoghlach gan m'ionnsamh fia dtocht na toghairma
comharda biodhbadh a-nocht mo neamhuimla.

4. Go fmuainim an chráidh fuair an finnleannadh
'r an ghruaidh flimleadhar dár ngrádh do gairbhighead
'r an corp uain fa chrann do cuibhighead
mall do cuimhighead a bhruair d'aindoighead
go raibh mé a-noir tre chion dá cuimheaghadh
an biodh dhuimheamhar i mboith Dé do daingnighead.

5. Go fmuainim ó chroidhe ar naomhtail do nuamhartha
[a] uandalta Muire idir an laochraidh leomhanta
go fmuainim iar n-uair Muire ar tonnaibh an taobhoctha
'r ar gach aondocha dá bhruair ó na bonnaibh beoghonta.

6. Téid tre ghráraibh fan úir tre ár n-uabhairne
nuadhoilghe an láthain dúinn go madh díonaighne
mar do chuaidh ó chroidhe go gcaoinimne
naoimheighre nimhe fan uaigh dár n-iarraidhne.

7. Tiocfaidh ar fluagh go faobhrach dár bhreithimhne
ar n-aonbhrat breithimhne fan luan ní bu leathaighne
a-nuagh 'r an láthain óir é ar n-athairne
tar racuimhne ó ghráraibh Dé nar dheachaimne.

8. Tʜɪall dáɪ n-ɪonnɪaḋ ɪ n-aɪmɪɪɪ na fíoɪɣoɪme
fallɪɪɪɣ do mɪoɪḃuɪle a ċɪaḃ fɪonnɣlan óɪḃuɪḋe
tʀeoɪɪuɪɣ do ṫʀéad an uaɪɪɪe ɣo ɦaonḃaɪle
buaɪlɪe fáɪ ɣcaoṁnaɪne a ɣéaɣ aɪ ɣlóɪṁuɪɪe
aɪlaɪɣ ḋaṁ an coɪmḋe ɲeḋ ċéalṁuɪne
ná ɾɣaɪ le ɣéaɪɣuɪḋe ḃaɪ n-oɪɣɪe a óɣṀuɪɪe.

9. Noċa leɪɣɪe laɪɪ aċd luċt a leanaṁna
ɲe ɦuċt a neaṁɾaɣla nɪ bu taɪɪ an tɪɣeaɪɪna
an ċɪoċ ɾan luan lá na ɾoɪḋeaɣla
buḋ tuaɪ ḋoɪṁeanma tɪá ḋá ṫɪɣealḃa
noċtɾaɪḋ Dɪa an cɪannɾaɪn do ċáċ maɪ ċoṁaɪɾḋa
ɪ ḋtɪáṫ na toɣaɪɪma cɪa mun amɾaɪn buḋ ɦɪnɾeaḋma.
Mo.

Translation

1. I flee to the Lord's Five Wounds by which are prepared most easy roads to His goodly dwelling; my unbridled steed shall make me fear when the host of men comes to the House of Summons.
2. In that hour of contention may the ruddy streams of the Five Hearts point my path to Thy fair Fort; may Thy wounded foot protect me from my evil deeds; may Thy white hand and empurpled breast be my defence.
3. May Thy breast-wound, blotting out my sinful mischief, take me with Thy followers to Thy fair home; my fear is lest I be not set aright ere the Summons come, for my disobedience to-day marks me as Thy foe.
4. Let me dwell on the sorrow of the fair Child, on His smooth delicate face rough-entreated for our love, on His body which we caused to be bound to the Cross; too late have I dwelt on the injustice inflicted on Him; let me now in love dwell on the thick-headed nail fastened in His hand.
5. Let me devoutly in holy love dwell on Thy heaped up suffering among the fierce soldiery, O lamb-like nursling of Mary; then, let me think of Mary (suffering) owing to the streams of His (pierced) breast and the agony she felt at His sore-wounded feet.
6. In love of us, to atone for our rebellion, He descends into the grave; may His new sorrow that day be a strong plea for me; let me bitterly weep Heaven's holy Heir descending 'neath the earth to seek me.
7. The host of us shall come one day eagerly defending ourselves; the Judge, our only hope, shall be no half-hearted pleader for us that day; may we never—for God is our Father then and now—be forgotten and left without His favour.
8. O lady of fair bright golden hair, come to guide me on the Day of Stress, show forth thy power; guide thy flock now to its home; set about my salvation, O most glorious lady; urge the Lord to calm thy fears for me; cease not, O Virgin Mary, thy urgent prayer to Thy Son.
9. None but His followers shall the Lord admit to Himself; no indulgence shall He show till men cease to offend Him; on Monday, the Day of Parting, His Cross will make His household anxious; He will display it to the world as His standard on the Day of Summons; who on that day shall be found ready?

Notes

MS.: O'Conor Don's Book, *f.* 72*b*.

1*b* ɪneṁla. 2*b* ɴɔonnɾaɾa. 3*b* bɾ. aɔ ó. *c* mɪonnɾaḋ. *d* leanaṁna *vel* neaṁuṁla. 4*b* an ḃaɾ *vel* ɣɾuaɪɔ. *e* ɾɪe. 5*b* ɾan which might stand, an u. being acc.? 6*d* naoṁoɪɣɾe. 8*a* a naɪm. 9*d* ɔ. ɾáṫ ɔa ɔɪɣɔealbɔa. *e* a ɔɾáṫ.

A GREAT CATHOLIC ARTIST: JAN TOOROP 1858–1928

BY KEES VAN HOEK

WHEN Jan Toorop died, in March 1928, his loss was mourned by the whole Dutch nation; for Toorop was one of her greatest sons. Although the death of a great painter ought to be felt as a bereavement in a country more famous for its schools of painting than for any of its other glories, Toorop was the very first artist who found himself at the end of his life already universally recognised as a national figure. Holland, perhaps by reason of her uncommonly high percentage of outstanding figures, never cared greatly for her own great men, not even if their names were repeated with veneration throughout the civilised world. Rembrandt was comparatively unknown to the Dutch folk of his day. Joseph Israels was perhaps the first who made a real bid for popularity among his contemporaries. It was Toorop who first gained an unquestioned place of eminence among his fellow-citizens.

In Holland, where over-developed individuality has resulted in countless divisions between classes and cliques, political parties and groups, religious creeds and sects, nothing proves more clearly the high national place of honour which Toorop attained than the Committee which is at present preparing the erection of his statue. The highest aristocracy with the communist intelligentsia, Conservative Cabinet Ministers with the leaders of the Socialist Party, the Catholic Episcopate as well as the heads of other Churches, are united this time (quite "étonnés de se trouver ensemble") in honouring the genius of Jan Toorop.

The son of a Scandinavian father and of a mother of

mixed British and Indian descent, Toorop was born in 1858 at Poerworedjo in Java, the main island of Holland's Colonial Empire. Dostojefsky's daughter once tried to account for all the characteristics of her father by his mixed descent, but concerning Toorop's family-tree scholars could revel in an almost unlimited amount of hypotheses. As a boy of fifteen he was sent to Holland—then still a long and adventurous journey of a hundred days round the Cape—to study for a post in the Dutch-East-Indian Civil Service, for which his parents had destined him.

But the student of the Delft Technical University was far more thrilled by the artistic genius of Delft's old masters than by the scientific genius of its renowned engineers. It needed the intercession of influential protectors like Joseph Israels to make his father consent to an artistic career. He started under Professor Allébé at the Academy of Arts in Amsterdam. His artistic talent, nearly suffocated in the cold mathematical atmosphere of Delft, now blossomed into ripe promise. Here he became the friend of the deeply religious Derkinderen, who later on, as Allébé's successor, became one of the lights of his art. After their Amsterdam years the two young men went together to Belgium, where Toorop lived at the little village of Machelen. In those days a Dutch statesman had wittily remarked: "He who is under thirty and not a Socialist has no heart; but he who is over thirty and still a Socialist has no head." Toorop was under thirty and his heart was the dominating factor in all his actions. He was a Socialist. With his friend Jules Destrée he helped the strikers in the Borinage and was later arrested for creating a scene in Parliament before the reading of the Speech from the Throne.

It is amusing to study the ironies of history. Nobody could have thought, when the young heathen rascal Toorop went abroad with the pious Derkinderen, that the former and not the latter would emerge as the great

inspirer of a new religious art. Could Jules Destrée have imagined in those Borinage days that in later years he himself would be a Belgian Minister of State, while his equally hotblooded Dutch friend would be a painter of royalty ?

Together with Destrée and Emile Verhaeren, Toorop came to London, where he stayed from 1885 to 1889. The painter of contrasts, which he remained all his life, found in the great metropolis ample inspiration for his versatility. During the week he took dirty beggars from London Bridge to his studio or painted his " Before the House of Refuge," in which all the misery of a great town was told. But during the week-ends he was the guest of aristocratic patrons of art and his " Trio Fleuri," the three white-clad ladies in the sunny garden, could not have been surpassed by any court painter *à la mode.* The main reason for his long sojourn in London was the fact that the artist had met in Brussels a beautiful Irish art student, Miss Anne Josephine Hall, to whom he became engaged there and whom he married in London. Miss Hall herself was an Anglican, but together they used to visit Farm Street Church or listen to the liturgical singing at the Oratory. It was in London that Toorop met Cardinal Manning, whose social ideas made a profound impression on the young idealist. How Manning influenced all his life can be seen in the many Manning faces incorporated in his later creations, even as late as a year before his death in his " Offer " panel.

Toorop's conversion to Catholicism is too important a factor in his life and in his work to be left unnoticed here. Although almost an anarchist when he was in his twenties, he had always been in his heart of hearts a religious man who felt instinctively the Divine behind all the things of life, who saw man as a bearer and symbol of deep inner realities. For him even the smallest incident was a reflection of great general issues. As Schelling expressed it : " Alle Kunst ist symbolisch, indem sie im Endlichen

das Unendliche darstellt." True to the land of his birth he was a mystic; his semi-Eastern nature admired the sumptuousness of Catholicism and the Northern blood in his veins made him appreciate its cooler blend so peculiar to our hemisphere.

The influence of his wife was always great. Here was a typical Celtic spirit with a strong sense of reality, strangely mixed with a great belief in things supernatural. Their intellectual intercourse started with his adoption of titles for his pictures from her English Bible, of which the sweet version attracted him far more than the rigid language of his own "Staten" Bible. Already in their London days his wife became a Catholic, but it was not until 1905 that Toorop was converted to the Faith. Manning's personality had made the soil of his soul fertile; the reading of Thomas à Kempis's *De Imitatione Christi* caused unlimited self-reflection. But the ray of grace descended that day when he casually strolled into a church. The sight of a packed audience stirred him, and he remained there till long after the Benediction, when the Verger had to tell a sobbing man in a far away corner that he was presently going to close the church. It was the modern version of Chateaubriand's historic "J'ai pleuré et j'ai cru."

When Toorop, after having passed through all phases and forms of pantheism, found rest in the Catholic Church, his work grew clearer and at the same time more quiet and simple. He moved from a passionate realism and an unreal mysticism to the noble harmony and pure clarity of his later work.

It would be wrong to pass over, as a less important prelude, the many pictures which he painted before his conversion. It would be equally wrong to over-eulogize all his later religious work. Grace does not interfere, we may assume, with the natural flow and ebb in creative power. By nature he hated self-seeking art; he did not look for pictorial settings, but penetrated into the soul of

man. Therefore he never was a one-sided religious artist, even if it remains true that his Catholic years run parallel with the high tide of his creative work.

But let us continue the story of his life. In 1889 Toorop returned to Holland, and though he travelled much and widely, he resided there for the rest of his life. He lived alternately at the Hague or in Amsterdam, or in bungalows near the coast, at Katwijk or Domburg, where the fishermen with their straight-cut faces and powerful features were his ideal models. When asked for the secret of one of his great masterpieces, "The Last Supper" (now in the Municipal Museum of Amsterdam), he used to point to those sturdy natives of his fishing village and answer: "Did not the Lord say that he would make of mere fishermen Fishers of Men?"

As one of the founders of the "Hague Art Circle" he came into contact with Berlage, the giant of modern Dutch architecture, who paid a fitting tribute to the rising fame of the painter by inviting him to decorate his famous Exchange at Amsterdam. Toorop loved to give his talents in such a monumental decorative work for the community, and he painted Holland's past, present and future. Visitors will find in this temple of Holland's financial activities also biblical scenes on the ceramic walls, such as Christ and the Samaritan Woman, the artist's personification of love and peace. Toorop had become the artist of lines, with which he created wonders. Therefore his art matched architecture exceedingly well. The impression which his ceramics make is deep and lasting. He was equally successful in his stained glass windows. The St. Joseph Church at Nijmegen contains one of his best efforts in that direction. Here he broke for the first time with the customary routine of arbitrarily dividing glass and lead. He used lead in a vertical and circular movement harmonising with the architectural lines of the walls.

There is no denying the fact that Toorop had to struggle

during many years, not for recognition in the world of art, but rather for an appreciation of his art by the general public. It stands to reason that the symbolic subjects which inspired his works after his conversion were easily understood by those who shared his new religion, but in Holland things were, generally speaking, not much better than elsewhere. Catholics, headed by the clergy, had wasted money and energy in sponsoring those awful productions which, turned out by the hundred, still "adorn" most of our churches. The miles of church-walls which Holland has built, were not utilized, as in the days of the Renaissance, to give opportunities to her best artists. The taste of the people only advanced slowly, but in time some fine opportunities were offered to the genius of Jan Toorop. The Bishop of Harlem commissioned him to decorate the St. Aloysius Chapel in his new Cathedral of St. Bavo. Many orders followed—there was always a place for what his busy hand turned out—but nothing surpasses the famous Stations of the Cross in the parish church of Oosterbeek, perhaps the most warmly discussed modern work in Holland, a work in which Toorop revealed the infinite possibilities still hidden in religious art.

Powerful as Michael Angelo in the conception of his Apostles, Toorop ranks with Botticelli in the fragrant tenderness of his child studies and with Memlinck in the primitive sweetness of his Madonnas. There is a devotion of medieval flavour in his Stations of the Cross at Oosterbeek. And who, having studied his "Christmas Triptych," can fail to notice the touching likeness between its Domburg peasants and the poor burghers of Hugo van der Goes as seen in the Uffizi Museum, Florence?

Vincent van Gogh once wrote at the end of his life to his brother: "If I had power to continue, I should like to paint portraits of Saints from nature. They would have looked as examples from past ages, though in fact they would have been men of our own day, but

with a spiritual relationship to primitive ideals." What van Gogh thus planned, shortly before his untimely death, his friend Toorop has been able to give to the world: images of the great Saints for whom the sturdy fishermen of the North Sea or the leaders of thought and action in our times, from Manning to Mussolini, stood as models. It may be surprising to see the former adherent of the workers' "Internationale" eulogizing Mussolini. But, like everything connected with Toorop and his work, there is no clash, only consistency in his ideas, to which he remained true all his life. Toorop saw in the Duce the vocation to which Providence destined him for Italy, as Léon Bloy saw in Napoleon "la face de Dieu dans les ténèbres."

Toorop worked as long and as hard as he could. He constantly tried out new colour processes, carved in stone, kneaded clay, experimented with ceramics and majolica, made portraits and prints, cartoons and stained glass windows, canvases, panels and frescoes. That he suffered ups and downs in his manifold activities is a fact which does not belittle the grandeur of his work, an impressive and coherent whole proceeding from one great creative mind. His pictures, while touching our souls by their subtle beauty and tenderness, never fail to hammer his gospel into our minds. He was the great magician who worked the wonder of conjuring up what is invisible for our eyes and who expressed what words are inadequate to convey. Whatever may be the changing tastes and whims of the public, Toorop's fame is bound to weather any change of season. He had always believed in youth; he had always been open to the new ideas and movements flowering around him. For half a century he was the leader of the vanguard, of those fired with the enthusiasms and ideals of youth: he gave them the new vibration of light which they sought; he expressed for them the symbols for which they craved; he stimulated them to new vigour and activity, when they grew tired of their

quiet contemplation of nature ; he discovered the rhythm in which the new technique is now finding monumental solution for the old problems.

The last decade of his life endeared the great son to his people in a way in which only martyrdom can achieve. He became paralysed in both legs. Painting became impossible, and he had to work with pencil and chalk. " How can you work so wonderfully in spite of all those torturing pains ? " a friend asked. And there was all the serenity of a noble life in the unexpected reply : " I work so well, thanks to my pains." Hundreds of touching incidents could be related : how in a crowded tramcar everyone lifted his hat when the great artist was wheeled across the road, or of the unknown little girl who once ran up to his invalid chair to assure the crippled master : " I know who you are and we pray every night for your sick legs."

During his last illness he composed his swan song, " The Prayer." It is made on small pieces of paper afterwards pasted together. From out a visionary rainbow Christ's face radiates, and to Him the painter, with the tormented face and the weary eyes, lifts his hands, holding a little rosary-cross, as he prays for mercy in his final hour soon to strike. In their expression of ardent faith and sublime devotion, these are the hands of the great craftsman who glorified labour by his genius and who was at the same time only the humble worker in God's vineyard.

For that was Toorop. No eulogy pronounced at his grave rang more true than that he was : " In art the greatest, in love superior."

Kees van Hoek

SAINT PATRICK'S PURGATORY

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THE practice of pilgrimage, or journeying in a spirit of prayerful reverence to sites hallowed by the presence or sufferings of Christ and His saintly followers, can be traced back to a very early period in the history of Christianity. Jerusalem, Bethlehem, the Jordan banks, the hills and dales of Galilee, naturally outdistanced all other places in their appeal to the Christian heart. Pilgrims were wont to repair to Jerusalem for at least a century before the era of persecution ended. When the Church was finally liberated and Jerusalem adorned with splendid religious edifices by Constantine the Great and his pious mother, the number of pilgrims increased considerably. St. Jerome and a group of friends settled permanently in the Holy City. Hospices were erected for the reception of those whose stay had necessarily to be short. The movement was brought to a temporary stop by the Mahommedan conquest of Palestine ; but Christian princes, like Charlemagne, sought to overcome this difficulty by arrangement with the Arab rulers. When these means proved ineffectual and bigotry and cruelty were the order of the day among the Sultans, there was initiated the great military enterprise known as the Crusades.

Next to Jerusalem the most honoured spot in the Christian world was Rome, where the Apostles Peter and Paul had found, in our old Irish phrase, the place of their resurrection. Records of visits *ad limina Apostolorum* go back in an unbroken series to the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The tradition was, therefore, centuries old when St. John Chrysostom wrote[1] : " For that reason (because it is the

[1] In Epis. ad Rom. Hom. 32. Opera Omnia Ed. Montfaucon. Second edit. Paris, 1837. Vol. IX, p. 835-7.

last resting place of Saints Peter and Paul) I love Rome; though I do not deny that the city has other claims to praise. This is undoubtedly the city's chief title to honour that its giant body is illumined, as it were, by two lustrous eyes, the bodies of these two Saints." "Were I free," he says again,[1] "from ecclesiastical cares and sufficiently strong in body, I would not refuse to undertake this pilgrimage to Rome, to see the chains by which St. Paul was bound and the prison wherein he lay." Two centuries later St. Columban gives expression to the same sentiments, when, unable himself to visit the Eternal City, he begs Pope Boniface IV to "pray for me, a most wretched sinner, and for my fellow pilgrims near the holy places and the ashes of the saints; and especially near Peter and Paul."[2] Further places of pilgrimage in the West were Nola, where large concourses in the fifth century did reverence to the memory of St. Felix, an early bishop of that city, who had suffered grievously for the faith; and Tours, raised to a position of abiding popularity by the attractive personality of its famous Confessor, St. Martin.

In the later mediaeval period places of pilgrimage multiplied. It is sufficient to mention Aachen (a town extraordinarlly rich in precious relics), Bruges (the Holy Blood), Cologne (the shrine of the Three Kings), Loreto (the Holy House) and Trier (the Holy Coat). Yet more important than these is the influence which they exercised over the mediaeval imagination and the impress which they left in mediaeval literature were the shrines of St. James at Compostella and St. Thomas at Canterbury and the penitential cave, St. Patrick's Purgatory, situated in the North-western portion of our own land.

The study of these pilgrimages may be approached from various angles, according as the predominant interest is theological, psychological, social or simply historical.

[1] Ib. Vol. XI, p. 62-3. In Epis. ad Eph. Hom. VIII, 2.
[2] M. G. H. Ep. III, p. 177.

In every case there are problems to be solved. Mr. Shane Leslie, in the monumental volume on St. Patrick's Purgatory which he has recently compiled,[1] provides students of many sciences with much-needed references. The documents, ranging in date from mediaeval times till our own day, are given in chronological order and make a stately array. For having brought them together and published them with painstaking care in a book remarkable for its beautiful printing and its tasteful decoration Mr. Leslie deserves the gratitude of his countrymen and of many besides who are interested in Irish subjects.

What do the records tell us of the old sanctuary? Mr. Leslie has summarized their contents in a vivid sentence: "St. Patrick's Purgatory was the mediaeval rumour which terrified travellers, awed the greatest of criminals, attracted the boldest of knight-errantry, puzzled the theologian, englamoured Ireland, haunted Europe, influenced the current views and doctrines of Purgatory, and not least inspired Dante." They show the rise of the place to fame in the second half of the twelfth century; its prosperity until the year 1497, when it was closed by order of Pope Alexander VI; its re-opening under altered circumstances not many years later; the violent but unsuccessful effort of English Protestant power in Ireland to suppress it and the growing popularity of the pilgrimage since the middle of the eighteenth century—a movement that has not yet reached its full development.

Whether the tradition that connects St. Patrick with the site is old and genuine, or one of the numberless products of the fertile Irish imagination, is a question that cannot be settled with certainty. No ancient and trustworthy document speaks of the Saint as having visited Loch Derg. On the other hand it must be remembered that the Itinerary of St. Patrick, constructed by Tírechán (from much older materials) about the year

[1] *St. Patrick's Purgatory. A Record from History and Literature.* Compiled by Shane Leslie. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1932. 21/- net.

A.D. 700, brings the Apostle into this district of Donegal. Patrick, we are told,[1] entered Mag Sereth from the south by crossing the Erne "between Assaroe and the sea." Of the churches built in the plain called Mag Sereth, only one, unfortunately, can be identified, that erected at Rath Congi (Racoon) in the parish of Drumhome, about midway between Ballyshannon and Donegal. From this church the inland lake is distant about twelve miles.

Mention is also made of a church founded by St. Patrick in Mag Latrain, an unidentified plain that like Mag Sereth may have extended to the rising ground very near Loch Derg. Having completed his work in these parts the Saint passed "for Bernas filiorum Conill," through the Gap of Barnesmore, into the valley of the Finn. There is, of course, no proof that the Apostle interrupted his missionary labours in South Donegal and retired for a spell of prayer and penance into a cave of the lonely lake; but the possibility of his having done so cannot be discounted. What would this be more than another manifestation of the spirit symbolized by the barren hill top of Croaghpatrick?

In the eerie solitude of the lake a cave might naturally be chosen as a dwelling-place, since it offered inducements which a holy man would appreciate—necessary shelter against wind and rain, combined with a very high measure of human discomfort. St. Benedict of Nursia, St. Kevin of Glendáloch, St. Ignatius, occur to the mind at once as examples of saints who found within the narrow limits of a cavern conditions suited to contemplation and the practices of Christian asceticism. Hagiography knows of a host of others.[2]

Against the view that St. Patrick ever visited the Lake is the undoubted fact that the place for centuries was connected, not with the National Apostle, but with an obscure saint called Mobeóc or Dabeóc. Of Mobeóc's

[1] Book of Armagh. Ed. Gwynn, p. 29a and 29b. Cf. Trip. Life II, p. 328-9.
[2] Cf. Zöckler: *Askese und Mönchtum.* I, p. 242.

history nothing whatever is known, though in a poem attributed to St. Cumméne of Connor he is included among the great saints of Ireland.[1] In later times it was related how St. Patrick entered a cave in the island of Loch Derg in order to pray more perfectly to God and how a vision of the pains of Purgatory was there vouchsafed to him, following which his *disciple*, St. Mobeóc, established a penitential retreat on the spot[2]; but the statement that St. Mobeóc was a disciple of St. Patrick is, of course, pure legend. Archdale's view[3] that Mobeóc flourished about A.D. 492 is mere conjecture, based on the contention of one of the Irish lives of St. Columcille that he prophesied the latter's coming. More worthy of credence is his pronouncement that Mobeóc's church or settlement was on the territory afterwards known as *Oileán na Naomh* or Saints' Island.[4] That the site was not abandoned is evident from the circumstance that the obit of a Cilléne of Loch Gerg (Loch Derg) is recorded in the Annals under AD. 721. Otherwise the silence is complete. We are likely, therefore, to be right in concluding that the ecclesiastical buildings in the lake were nothing more elaborate than a small church, perhaps in each of two islands, and some priests' or hermits' cells. But the existence of the ancient founder was not forgotten, and by the eleventh century his church had gathered to itself some square miles of neighbouring territory, sacred to the Saint's memory, and regarded as his *Termonn* or sanctuary.[5] St. Patrick, meanwhile, as far as extant records go, is never mentioned.

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[1] *Z.C.P.*, 1. p. 66. A comparison of the Martyrologies of Tallaght, Oengus, and Gorman leaves doubt as to whether his day is Jan. 1st or July 25th. Saints of the same or cognate names mentioned by Colgan, AA. SS. Hib. p. 312 (5), and having days October 15th and Dec. 16th, belonged to Co. Down and Co. Wexford.

[2] Cf. Scathán Shacraminnte na haithridhe, by Aodh Mac Aingil, Louvain, 1618.

[3] Monas. Hiber. I, p. 206.

[4] Lambeth MS. 51 (Leslie, p. 12) shows that in the 13th century this island, on which the Augustinian Canons had their house and church, was still called after St. Mobeóc.

[5] Termonn Dabheócc AU. 1043, 1071.

In the twelfth century comes the great change. Saints' Island, the site on which St. Mobeóc had made his settlement, is occupied and transformed by a community of Augustinian Canons, designated again and again by Mr. Leslie, for some reason which it is difficult to understand, the *Anglo-Norman* Canons. As well might one apply the term *Anglo-Norman* to the Canons Regular of the Lateran. A moment's consideration will show how mistaken is Mr. Leslie's belief that "the Normans" settled in Loch Derg and thus took over both site and legend.[1] He tells us himself that "by 1135 the Augustinian Canons were in possession of Loch Derg,"[2] at a date therefore more than thirty years before a Norman set foot in Ireland. That the settlement in Donegal was quite so early hardly admits of proof; but there can be no doubt that this Augustinian monastery, like that founded by St. Malachy at Saul, those founded at Armagh and Ferns, the Priory, too, into which St. Lorcan O'Toole turned the Dublin Cathedral Chapter of Holy Trinity and the Priory of All Hallows on Hoggin Green (College Green), founded by Dermot Mac Murrough, were all erected before the Norman Invasion. The Priory in Loch Derg was thus an Irish, as distinct from a Norman, foundation. Situated, moreover, in that part of Ireland which remained under the effective rule of the Gaelic princes, O'Neill, O'Donnell and Maguire, until the end of the 16th century, it always retained its purely Irish character. Indeed, as far as our observation goes, the same remark seems to hold good of many other houses of Augustinian Canons that lay outside the borders of the Pale.[3] Everything goes to show that the community in Loch Derg was as Gaelic in blood as any Irish monastery of pre-Norman days.

It is obvious, on the other hand, that the journalistic efforts which brought the island sanctuary to the know-

[1] Foreword, p. viii.

[2] Preface, p. xvi.

[3] Cf. AU. 1170, 1175, 1196, 1218, 1229, 1232, 1236, etc., Annals of Loch Cé, 1242.

ledge of the great European public were the work of Norman writers. Jocelin, the monk of Furness in Lancashire, in his *Life of St. Patrick*; the monk of Saltrey in Huntingdonshire, generally known as Henry; Giraldus Cambrensis and Matthew Paris—all contributed their share to the propagation of the tale. Prescinding from points on which these authors are at variance, the story in its main features runs that an Irish Knight named Owen, who had served under King Stephen and had been guilty of numberless enormities, returned to his native land and confessed to the local bishop. That prelate treated him to a severe lecture; whereat the Knight was so moved that he promised to perform " the heaviest of all penances " by entering St. Patrick's Purgatory. While watching in the cave he was vouchsafed a terrifying vision of Purgatorial punishments. This was about the year A.D. 1153. Rumour said that others who dared to enter the same cave had similar experiences and suffered many torments at the hands of demons; while the belief was current that these who endured such penalties in penance for their sins would undergo no further pains in the world below unless they committed fresh crimes. For this reason the place was called St. Patrick's *Purgatory*.

A phenomenon worthy of note is that the Normans speak of the cave as a well-known place of pilgrimage before the invasion of Ireland by their countrymen. Thus Henry of Saltrey, writing about 1186, says [1] :—

> Patrick and his successors established the custom that nobody may enter the Purgatory without licence from the Bishop of the Diocese in which it lies or without choosing to enter of his own free will on account of his sins. After coming to the Bishop and indicating his purpose, the Bishop shall implore him to abandon such an undertaking, saying that many have entered and never emerged. Should he persevere, he receives letters from the Bishop to the Prior of the monastery. When the Prior has read them, he shall dissuade him from entering the Purgatory and shall diligently advise him to try some other penance, showing him the

[1] Leslie, p. 7.

great danger that lies within. If he persists, however, he brings him to the church, where he remains during fifteen days of fast and prayer. At the end of this time the Prior summons the neighbouring clergy, the penitent is fortified with Holy Communion and sprinkled with Holy Water and is then led to the entrance of the Purgatory with procession and litany. Again the Prior shall declare to him the danger and how many have been lost in that foss and open the door for him in the presence of all. If he stays firm, the priests present give him their blessing, and he commending himself to their prayers and marking himself on his forehead with the Sign of the Cross enters. The Prior then closes the door, and thus the procession returns to the church; and returns the next day in the morning from the church, and the door is opened by the Prior. If the pilgrim is waiting there, he is joyfully conducted to the church, in which he spends another fifteen days in vigils and prayer. If however he does not make an appearance, he is abandoned as lost and the door is locked.

Elaborate arrangements of this kind imply that the cave was known and frequented by pilgrims during at least a generation before the monk of Saltrey wrote. Do such visits go back to a yet more remote era of the Christian past? It is extremely likely that they do, though no trace of them has survived in the extant records. We may note in this connection that the custom of retiring from the world and living the last years of life in religious retirement beside some famous church is found as early as the seventh century. The following list of those who died thus on pilgrimage is compiled from the Annals of the Four Masters, figures in brackets representing the dates of death.

Clonmacnois.—Gormán, of the Mourne district, ancestor of a famous family (610); Gormán, Abbot of Louth (753); Aedagán, abbot of Louth (834); Flann, wife of the High-King, Maelsechlainn I and mother of the High-King, Flann Sinna (886); Domnall, lord of Aidne (937); Fogartach Finn of the Ulaid (1064); Cumeada O Laegachtáin of Tethba (1100); Ruaidri O'Connor, King of Connacht for a long time (1118).

Iona.—Artgal, King of Connacht, after ten years of pilgrimage (786); Cetharnach, a bishop from Stackallan in Meath (1046).

Rome.—Céledabaill, abbot of Bangor, at the age of 59 (927);

Fergil, abbot of Terryglass (927); Donnchad, son of Brian Boru, in the monastery of St. Stephen the Protomartyr (1064); Imar O h-Aedagáin, St. Malachy's tutor and builder of the great church of SS. Peter and Paul at Armagh (1134).

Armagh.—Aedán, anchorite of Roscommon, Cellach, abbot of Clonard and Cathal, lord of West Connacht (1043); Gormlaith, a princess (1063); Murchad O'Flaithecan, head of the church of Ardbo, Co. Tyrone (1103); Derborgaill, daughter of Domnall O'Lochlainn, King of Ireland (1151).

Clonard.—Eichtigern O h-Egráin, abbot of Clonmacnois (1052); Ailill O h-Airetig, abbot of Clonmacnois (1070).

Lismore.—Cétfaid, "head of piety of Munster" (1056).

Glendáloch.—Flaithbertach, abbot of Magbile in Down and Derborgaill, daughter of Mac Gillapádraig of Ossory (1098).

Cologne.—Donnchad, abbot of Dunshaughlin in Meath (1027).

Roscrea.—Maelpádraig O Drugain, chief lector of Armagh (1138).

Killaloe.—Gillacaeimgin O'Kennedy, lord of Ormond (1159).

Elsewhere.—Becc Boirche, King of the Ulaid, died after twelve years of pilgrimage (704); Moengal, abbot of Bangor (869); Domnall, son of Aed Findliath, King of Aileach (911); Flaithbertach, King of Cashel (920); O'Maeldoraid, lord of Tír Conaill (1027). There were, in addition, numbers of less distinguished pilgrims whose names have been lost to fame.[1]

An illustrious eleventh century wayfarer who made the journey to Rome was Flaithbertach O'Neill,[2] King of Ailech. He returned a year later and died in 1035 "after a good life and penance." Similar temporary visits to Rome are not recorded, but it is more than likely that they took place. There is nothing, then, incredible in the account[3] that the abduction of Derborgaill, wife of Tigernán O' Ruairc, by the notorious Diarmuid Mac Murrough, was carried out while the unsuspecting husband was on pilgrimage in St. Patrick's Purgatory.

We may take it, therefore, as obscurely indicated that about the year 1100 the lonely mountain lake rejoiced

[1] Cf. Gougaud: *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, p. 167 ff. Also Plummer's edition of Bede, II, p. 170 f., and his *Lives of the Irish Saints*, I, p. cxxii. f.

[2] AFM. 1030 and 1031.

[3] Keating's *Forus Feasa*, Bk. II, Sect. 30. The year of her abduction was 1152 (AFM.). She was brought back to Meath in the following year by the High-King.

in the possession of two islands with traditional religious associations, a larger, called *Oileán na Naomh* or *Mobeóc's Island*, and a smaller, known to us now as *Station Island*. On each of these was a church or oratory and some cells, occupied by holy men, and visited now and then by pilgrims eager to devote a longer or a shorter period to the welfare of their souls. In Station Island was the mighty attraction of a cave said to have been utilized by St. Patrick. Round the cave a legend had come to cling, in the mysterious manner of its kind, to the effect that on this spot in the days of St. Patrick's apostolate a glimpse had been obtained of the dreadful otherworld. He had been preaching, the legend duly explained, on the Last Things, the happiness of the just and the sufferings of the wicked, and had been met by stark incredulity. So he prayed that a striking proof might be forthcoming of the truth of his words, and lo! an opening appeared in the cave, and in the abyss below the souls of the sinful could be seen in torment unspeakable. The *motif* of this story is obviously connected with Irish vision literature, a *genre* whose origins can be traced back to the seventh century, though it did not reach full development until four centuries later. Adamnán's first Vision, a tale of the 10th or 11th century, is the best known example of the class. Owing to the late appearance of the Vision, it was difficult to attach it to the national Saint, and so a remedy was found by the invention of a new story, plausibly constructed, of a Knight Owen who went through a complete course of experiences in the cave in the middle of the 12th century. What he had undergone, others might easily undergo. The tale, in this form, was carried over Europe by the Norman chroniclers and impelled many bold and curious persons to emulate the adventures of the penitent cavalier.

There is no reason to believe that the Augustinian Canons were responsible for the invention. As the cave preceded their settlement on Saint's Island, so, too, the

story, at least in the general form of a connection between the cave and regions of the other world. The arrangements mentioned by Henry of Saltrey about 1186 point, in the writer's opinion, to an ecclesiastical discussion of the whole question of the Purgatory and the decision to allow its continuance provided that certain precautions were taken. First among these was the regulation that nobody might enter the Purgatory without leave from the Bishop of the diocese, an excellent provision against abuses. Next came the test of the pilgrim's genuine penitential spirit, to be proved by a retreat and fast of fifteen days, followed by the reception of the sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist. Both Bishop and Canons exhorted the pilgrim not to enter the cave, on the grounds that the benefits to be derived from a vigil within it were doubtful, whereas the dangers incurred, certainly to body and possibly to soul, were very real. If the pilgrim insisted, Bishop and Canons allowed him to have his way and the Canons contented themselves with accompanying him in procession to the cave's mouth. Twenty-four hours later they appeared at the same place and conducted the pilgrim, if still alive and well, back to the monastery church for another period of fasting and prayer.

But whatever the steps taken by ecclesiastical authority to direct the pilgrimage along healthy lines, it cannot be denied that the popularity of the Purgatory in mediaeval Europe lay in its appeal to superstitious curiosity. What brought the average pilgrim to this spot was his passion for experimental knowledge of the world beyond the grave. He entered the cave in the hope and expectation of receiving revelations. That he beheld occasionally a vision of sorts is clear from the accounts left by some of those who came to the Purgatory from Continental countries. Thus the mysterious pilgrim Nicholas, having passed through the infernal regions, was led to a city decked with gold and glittering with jewels,

which was represented to him as Paradise. His request to be let in at once was summarily rejected. The Seigneur de Beaujeu, about 1350, likewise saw the gulf of hell, the gibbet of hell and souls in flames of fire (a few of whom he recognised) before he beheld the Terrestrial Paradise. Shortly afterwards Georgius Crissaphan, a Hungarian Knight, announced that he had received during his night in the cave secret messages from the Archangel Michael for certain kings and prelates. This stands apart as the most admirably discreet of visions. Louis de Sur in 1358 saw a king of his acquaintance seated down below on a throne of fire, in punishment for the luxury of his life on earth. The Portuguese, Raymond de Perelhos, met many old friends, among them a kinswoman of whose death he had not heard, for she was living when he started on his pilgrimage. "She was chiefly punished," he tells us ," for that she had spent so much time in trimming and painting her face." Another Hungarian, Laurence of Pasztho, in 1411, had an alarming intellectual revelation: "Whereas until that time," he says, "I was in great error and doubt as to what is the substance of the soul, what it must be and what become, since, according to the philosopher, it is invisible, incorporeal and impassible, therefore I entered the place of the Purgatory, and there, by the grace of God, I found the real truth on the subject of my doubts aforesaid." A stolid German monk, about the same period, was so moved by what he saw that he never showed a cheerful face again, but became a hermit in a forest, where he lived a severe life until his death twelve years later. On the other hand there were several like Sir William Lisle and a fellow knight, his companion, who admitted that they saw nothing; whilst "a high Canon of Waterford," mentioned by Caxton about 1480, proclaimed that he had been to the Purgatory five or six times with the same disappointing results.

Before we pass from the problem of visions, the account

given by Sir William Lisle must be quoted, as it is of much importance : " When I and my fellow were entered and past the gate of the cellar that was called the Purgatory of St. Patrick, and that we were descended and gone down three or four paces, going down as into a cellar *a certain hot vapour rose against us and strake so into our heads that we were fain to sit down on the stone stairs.* And after we had sat there a season we had great desire to sleep and so fell asleep and slept there all night. In sleeping we entered into great imaginations and marvellous dreams, otherwise than we were wont to have in our chambers and on our beds. In the morning we were awakened and issued out and within a short season clean forgot our dreams and visions; wherefore we thought and think all that matter was but a phantasy." Perelhos likewise recounts how severely he was affected by the atmosphere of the cave. "But about one hour after I did begin to tremble every joint of me, to sweat and be heartsick, to vomit also as if I had been on a long voyage at sea. In which troubles I was overtaken by sleep." William Staunton or Stranton, an Englishman who visited the Purgatory in 1409, relates that having entered the cave he " somewhat slumbered and slept." If we remember then all the circumstances, the wearied condition of the body after a long period of fasting on " the coarsest bread and water, in measure," the long vigils, the unbroken sequence of prayer and penance, the damp, vaporous, stifling air within the tomb-like cave, the religious excitement and high tension of the mind, we need not wonder that shapes strange and terrible flitted before the pilgrims' eyes.

On the question of site Mr. Leslie is inclined to hold that the original cave or Purgatory was on Station Island, that the Augustinian Canons closed this and opened a new cave beside their own church on Saints' Island, that it was this cave which was closed by Alexander VI, because it was not " the Purgatory Patrick got from God,"

that a cave was reopened on Station Island and remained there until destroyed by the Protestants in 1632. This would be very satisfactory indeed if it harmonized with the evidence. There is reason, however, to fear that it does not. In the Lambeth MS. of about 1230 the distinction is clearly drawn between the small island on which the Purgatory is situated and the larger island "in which Canons serve God." A century later, in 1353, Crissaphan was led to "a very small island quite near to that [the Canons'] monastery"—to an island, therefore, different from that in which the monastery stood. Again, in 1411, the Canon who said the Mass of Our Lady for Mannini in the monastery, was commanded to take him to the island of the Purgatory. The Prior accompanied the pilgrim as far as the water; "then the Canon, who sat facing me with his back to the island, began to row with two small oars, and I sat opposite him, with my face to the island of the Purgatory."[1] It seems in other words, that the cave was always situated in Station Island and never in Saints' Island, beside the Augustinian monastery.

A suspicion may, however, be entertained that at different times different pits on Station Island were regarded as St. Patrick's Purgatory. Thus the Crissaphan account speaks of "a very deep pit two miles and more," with a twisted staircase as in belfries. Sir William Lisle also describes the cave as a cellar into which he and his companion descended down a stone stairs three or four paces. Perelhos, too, found the cave to be both deep and large. Mannini, on the other hand, gives the measurements of the Purgatory as "three feet wide, nine feet long, and high enough for a man to kneel in but not to stand upright"; whilst de Lannoy, nineteen years later, in 1430, gives substantially the same figures—nine feet long, two feet wide and three feet high—but this pilgrim adds that the chamber continued for a distance of five feet to the south-west and so had a full length of fourteen to fifteen feet.

[1] Leslie, p. 36.

But when the Dutch monk of Eymstadt reached the place in 1494, he was let down by a rope into a deep pit and hauled up by the same means on the following morning, a proceeding manifestly absurd if the pit were but three feet deep, but easy to understand if it were a cavern large and high as described by the earlier pilgrims.

It may well, then, be that when Alexander VI ordered the cave to be closed in 1497—" it being understood," as the Annals of Ulster explain, " by everyone from the History of the Knight and other ancient books that this was not the Purgatory Patrick got from God "—those entrusted with the execution of the decree simply closed one cave, which they regarded as spurious, but left the way open for the renewal of the pilgrimage to another cave with better claims to be the genuine pit utilized by St. Patrick. Certain it is that the pilgrimage was in favour in 1516, when it was undertaken by a French knight; and in 1517, when it was favoured by a visit from no less a person than the Papal Nuncio Chiericati, accredited representative at the Court of Henry VIII, who displays no consciousness that the pilgrimage, as then performed, lay under any kind of Papal ban. His account of the pit suggests that it is identical with that entered by Mannini and de Lannoy. It remained in use until the destruction of the Purgatory in 1632, though the account of Loch Derg given by Bishop David Rothe in 1624 shows that at this time there was doubt among antiquarians as to whether this was the original " purgatory " shown to St. Patrick.

Mr. Leslie puts the interesting question : when exactly did the Franciscans of Donegal take the place of the Augustinians ? " When Alexander VI closed the Purgatory, the Franciscan Guardian of Donegal was in charge," that is to say, of the small ecclesiastical commission named to execute the decree, not of the island. The ownership of the Purgatory in English law passed by grant of Queen Elizabeth into the hands of the notorious Miler Magrath,

son of the erenach of Termon Magrath, Protestant Archbishop of Cashel and Bishop of Clogher and Derry. In 1603 the Priory is described as "much in decay and for many years past totally abandoned and dissolved." Twenty eight years later, Hugh O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh, announces to Rome that the Order of Canons Regular of St. Augustine is almost dead in the whole country, and asks that Franciscans, "the most numerous among our other regulars and the best suited to rough places," be given spiritual charge of the island, "to assist the pilgrims with their customary fervour of soul and alacrity of spirit." Next year, 1632, the cave, the chapel and every building on the island were smashed to pieces by the Protestant Bishop of Clogher, by order of the Dublin Government. When hope revived in the days of the Confederation, Archbishop Rinuccini reported that he made great efforts "to free from the hands of the heretics the so much celebrated Purgatory of St. Patrick." "It appeared to me," he says nobly, "that this equalled any of the most glorious of the Apostolic missions, and that I should in some measure have fulfilled my career if in this place, covered as much by the insults as by the earth thrown on it by the Puritans, it had been granted to me to replant the Cross." But the day of liberation had not yet come.

A new arrangement of the exercises, described by the Nuncio Chiericati, is found in force when that diplomat entered the island in 1517. "On the day of your arrival you make your will, if you have anything to leave. Then you confess and fast on bread and water for nine days and visit the three cabins [penitential beds] every hour, saying any number of prayers. And you have to stand in the lake, some up to the knees, others halfway up their bodies, and others up to the neck. At the end of nine days you hear Mass, receive Holy Communion, are blessed with holy water, and go with the cross before you to the gate of St. Patrick's pit. Then you go inside, and the door is

closed and not opened again until the next day, so that you have to stay there twenty-four hours." At that time the possibility of horrible visions was still reckoned with, though it was admitted that many who entered "felt nothing but great cold, hunger and weakness, and came out half dead on the following day." Mention of a second cave, to cater for the increasing number of pilgrims, occurs in a report made by Archbishop Fleming of Dublin to the Internuncio at Brussels in 1625, but the second pit was soon removed on the ground that "it seemed too much to differ from the first institution." The other cave remained in use until about 1790, when it was filled up and abandoned. It was replaced by a chapel large enough to hold all the pilgrims without inconvenience.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Franciscans were succeeded as directors of the Purgatory by a priest of the diocese of Clogher (nominated Prior by the Bishop). He and his successors during seven score years have carried on the pilgrimage with conspicuous zeal and success. The three day order of exercises still observed is based on a scheme drawn up in 1813; but an account that survives from 1834 shows that at this date it was the custom of many pilgrims to remain six or nine days, while some specially favoured souls were allowed to fast, pray and do penance for fifteen days. Coarse oatmeal bread and water were the traditional food permitted at the solitary refection. We hear, however, of tobacco being smoked during the vigil in the cave in 1701, and can guess at the triumph of some subtle casuist who sought to establish that there could be no objection to tobacco-smoke, since it was neither food nor drink. In the nineteenth century the water was served hot. It was boiled in an enormous cauldron and from its red colour, due to the presence of certain minerals in the lake, was known familiarly as Loch Derg wine. The time came in our own day when it was superseded by black tea.

When the Purgatory was restored after its destruction

in 1632 six cells or penitential beds, dedicated to seven of the most famous Irish saints, were constructed beside the cave. "These cells or beds," reports the Protestant Bishop Jones in 1647, "serve for a great part of their devotions, who resort to this pilgrimage; about which and in which there are often pacings and kneelings; to which end they are compassed with sharp stones and difficult passages, for such as go barefoot, as all must." "The Irish," adds the Protestant Minister Richardson in 1727, "believe that these saints lay several nights upon these beds by way of penance for their own sins and the sins of the people, which, if true, the hardness of their lodging made the penance very severe." Nor can we help reflecting, without surprise, yet with a certain awe, that Fr. William Doyle and Matt Talbot bring the line of these ancient ascetics down to our own day.

For the star of St. Patrick's Purgatory remains undimmed. To this little island of the lonely lake, ringed by the brown and barren mountains, countless generations of the Gael have gathered. They watch here and pray and do penance for their sins and, silent and shadowy like the night, contemplate the fate which will soon be theirs when they enter into the way of eternity. More and more the pilgrimage to Loch Derg is growing dear to the heart of Catholic Ireland. A beautiful new basilica, consecrated amid scenes of splendour by the Nuncio Apostolic, has taken the place of the ancient cave, with its dangerous appeal to unhealthy curiosity. St. Patrick's Purgatory, home of austere virtue and of genuine piety, watched over with paternal care by ecclesiastical authority, praised by our Holy Father Pius XI, has a rôle of importance to fill in this indifferent and luxury-loving century. Who can tell but that in our own generation it will blossom forth once more into one of the great sanctuaries of the Catholic world?

JOHN RYAN

SCIENCE IN OUR SCHOOLS

BY HENRY V. GILL, S.J., M.A., M.SC.

FROM time to time a great deal has been written about the need of state-aid for science, but perhaps the importance of the aid of science to the welfare of the state has been somewhat overlooked. Both aspects of the question are of growing importance. The place science should occupy in state-aided education is even now an unsettled point, and yet both in its educational and economic aspects few more vital matters could occupy the attention of any government. Science and its general value to the community is altogether beyond party politics and should receive the sympathetic consideration of every party. It is easy to discuss this subject calmly in Ireland, since all parties have given an example to the world in their united support of great scientific achievements. The success of the Shannon Scheme and the part played by the State in the development of the Drumm Battery are an eloquent proof of the utility of scientific research and of the application of scientific knowledge to the needs of life. Neither of these undertakings could have been possible without the co-operation of the Government. The future will show that the country will be the gainer for the courage and vision which inspired this intervention. One lesson to be learnt from this action is the importance of scientific training as an element in education.

In such consideration we must beware of supposing that there is question of the relative advantages of "classical" and "scientific" subjects as an element in education. It is freely admitted by the best scientific authorities that the main subject of secondary education

—which we are here concerned with—should be classics and literature, and that Latin, Greek, and modern literature should form the foundation of every sound educational programme. The question is what place—if any—science should have in our schools. For a broadminded and moderate statement of the claims of science the reader is referred to the address of Sir J. J. Thomson, President of the Mathematical and Physical Section at last year's meeting of the British Association. Professor Thomson is not only the leader of scientific thought in England, where conditions are not very different from our own, but is one who has always shown a keen appreciation of the need of a general education. He says :—

> The last thing I wish to do is to disparage Classical Studies. I think that for some boys a course in which Classics predominate is the best, and I think that in the early stages of the education of all boys Classics should play a large, perhaps even the largest part. What I think is desirable is that the School Examination should not be so specialised as it is now, and that the papers in Classics should not be so much more advanced than those in any other subject.

The difficulty in our modern schools is to fit in all the subjects which now seem to be essential. Professor Thomson admits that even to-day the methods of teaching Physics "have had to be evolved, and it cannot be said there is yet anything like complete agreement as to which are the best." The question of even this one branch of science—Physics—is a complicated one. Is time to be found for Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Biology, and the rest ? It is clear that anything like a complete course in all these subjects is out of the question. In making a selection we have to consider several aspects of the problem—for example the three headings : educational value, utility, appeal to the student's interest. It will be generally admitted that the subject which best fulfils these conditions is Physics. This subject affords excellent opportunities of training in scientific method, is closely

allied with mathematics, and enters largely into other branches of science. It introduces boys to subjects which arouse their interest and curiosity, which are full of practical importance in these days of motor-cars, "wireless," and the innumerable applications of electricity. Finally, when properly taught and illustrated by suitable experiments, there is no subject so well calculated to appeal to the imagination and to arouse enthusiasm. If then we agree that physics should be the main scientific subject, it remains to determine what place this branch of science should have in the school programme.

The primary object of education is evidently the formation of character in its broadest sense; after that comes the training of the mind so as to fit the individual not only to occupy a worthy place in the external life of the society in which he lives, but also to lead properly his own internal intellectual life. Of these two the latter is the more important, for external activity is the reflection of the mind. It has been said that a well-educated man should know something of everything and everything about something. There are not many who fulfil this ideal. This is the day of the specialist, and the specialist is not always well-educated. His character may be quite undeveloped, and his outlook so narrow that he knows nothing outside his own particular subject. The result is not always to the advantage either of the specialist or of those amongst whom he lives. The warning to beware of the man of one book may be interpreted in more ways than one! Possibly scientists are the greatest sinners in this respect for the reason that science, even in one of its many branches, is so full of interesting problems that there seems to be time for no other interests. It will I think be found that such sinners have not received, at school, an education on sound lines. Again literary and classical people are too often so devoid of the most elementary knowledge of science that they sin in the other direction—of occupying themselves with matters of little

or no real importance. Both classics and science should have their place in every well-educated mind. In a word the scientist who is altogether ignorant of literature, in its widest sense, is not well-educated; and a literary person who is ignorant of the elements of science is equally uneducated. All are prepared to accept the first statement, but it is to be feared that many would hesitate to accept the second. It takes a long time to get rid of old prejudices. Yet what could be nearer the Mind which fashioned the universe than a knowledge of His masterpiece?

We conclude, therefore, that the school programme should be such as to provide boys with a sound classical and literary training, while affording them opportunities of acquiring sufficient knowledge to enable them to take an intelligent interest in the forces of nature. Apart from its place in general education the inclusion of science enables both boys and their parents and masters to ascertain in what direction the student's abilities lie. It is not here suggested that school science should aim at anything like giving even a beginning of specialised knowledge. For many education ends with their school-days, and it is of great importance that they should have learned at school enough science to enable them to follow recent developments with interest, even though they may not have an opportunity of specialising. For those who decide on a scientific career specialising should begin during their university course. Even in the case of those who apply themselves to technical science the preliminary school course is of the greatest utility. Even for those occupied in non-scientific professions and occupations scientific training is of the first importance. In our day every person is a potential legislator and director, whether in a factory, a business concern, a farm, or in the state. In all such positions a sympathetic attitude towards the need of scientific method and the advantage of science to the nation is essential. For it may be laid down as a

general principle that the progress in any department of activity is proportional to the application of scientific methods and discoveries. It is improbable that many first class scientists would consent to take such a part in public life as membership of an active political party demands. Their whole attitude of mind, as scientists, is necessarily 'unpolitical'. But the absence of experts from the legislative body can be supplied, if the ordinary deputies possess a general and intelligent knowledge of scientific principles. Such men would be favourably disposed to promote scientific research and inquire into the ways in which science could be applied to their several departments.

An important and interesting part of school science would be an explanation of the many examples of the direct advantage of scientific discovery to the nation. Along with the experiments on electricity and magnetism might come an account of Faraday's original researches with an account of the place the developments of his results occupy to-day. The material advantages conferred on France by Pasteur's discoveries could form the subject of a most interesting talk. The discovery of X-rays might easily be reproduced in class, and an account given of the great benefits conferred on the world, and even of the great industry which has grown up from an experiment which was originally merely an exhibition of bright colours. Wireless, gas-engines, motor cars, Dunlop's tyres, etc., can easily be introduced as illustrations of various laws of nature. A little foresight might have saved the last-named industry for Ireland. But the factory actually started in Dublin was removed owing to the too fastidious olfactory organs of certain inhabitants of the capital. The Shannon Scheme, just because it was viewed with sympathetic scientific interest—by an "unscientific" minister of state—has already justified the risk its inception seemed to entail. The same spirit will no doubt ensure the foundation of a great industry

in the manufacture of Drumm Batteries to be exported to all parts of the world. Not so long ago Dublin was perhaps the most famous centre in the world for the manufacture of telescopic instruments, and the name of Grubb was known everywhere. One of the effects of the War was the removal of this industry to England.

All these and similar departments of science require a large number of highly trained scientists and skilful mechanics, and provide a kind of employment which experience has shown to be altogether in harmony with the genius of the Irish scholar and workman. Now the training and employment of this talent depends almost entirely on government support and encouragement. The advantage of such industries as the manufacture of scientific instruments is that the cost of transport and raw materials is slight in comparison with the cost of production. Such widely used articles as electric lamps may best be imported, as it is only possible to compete with the present production by manufacturing on an enormous scale and chiefly by the use of automatic machinery. By possessing a monoply of an invention such as the Drumm Battery a great deal of employment could be given.

When we come to consider the manner in which the State can best encourage science we are met with difficulties. It is seldom that a cut and dried discovery of obvious utility can be offered to the nation as a commercial asset, nor is it the normal function of a government to undertake such activities. But the State should certainly be expected to afford facilities and protection for such development. It is especially in the matter of education that the duty of the government is clear. Long established tradition has secured for literary studies their proper recognition. It is not so with science; until comparatively recently science in the schools has been "regarded with jealousy by the staff, with contempt by the boys, and with indifferenee by the parents." Some

years ago it was proposed in Ireland to make a certain amount of scientific teaching obligatory in the schools. It was of course evident to everyone that such a suggestion was foredoomed to failure. Most people are on principle opposed to too much State interference in education, and object to "obligatory subjects." Such encouragement as the State can give is best done indirectly, for example by giving additional grants for scientific instruction *which reaches a sufficiently high level.* The course should not be "popular" in the newspaper sense of the word, but should include general but accurate instruction on the fundamental laws of nature.

It may seem a strange assertion to maintain that the method in use thirty years ago was far better than that employed until recently. Whatever improvement is to be noted to-day is due to the fact that there has been some return to the older method, which was displaced by the terrible regulations of the "Department." These methods almost destroyed science in our schools and justly made it abhorrent both to boys and their masters. It had only one merit: to provide grants for badly off schools by the exploitation of pupils who were otherwise incapable of obtaining "result fees."

It is here suggested that three hours a week on the lines of the old Intermediate Programme would suffice for instruction in Physics. By this means the whole course could be covered in a manner calculated to arouse the interest of all normal boys, and encourage the few with marked talent to look forward to the fuller training of the University. A brief reference to what certainly was a successful method may not be out of place. In the school with which the writer is best acquainted both as a boy and as a master the method was as follows: The master expounded the fundamental laws of physics: Mechanics, Sound, Light, Heat, Magnetism and Electricity. These laws were illustrated by experiments performed by the master. The boys often took an active

part in the experiments, under the master's direction. One or two boys in turn assisted the master by taking measurements. The whole class recorded these results, and worked out the calculations founded on the formulae which had been explained. Each boy kept a note book in which the laws, formulae, experiments and numerical results were entered together with appropriate diagrams. These note books were frequently examined and corrected by the master, and were often a source of real interest and pride to the boys themselves. Other experiments of a more spectacular kind were frequently shown, such as Spectra, X-rays, Electromagnetic applications and the like. Short lantern lectures illustrating practical applications were also given. In this way every boy got into touch with the reality of the subject and obtained a practical knowledge of the use of standard instruments such as the balance, micrometer screws, thermometers, galvanometers, voltmeters and the like. Such a system had the result of giving a general but accurate knowledge of the whole subject. The foundations were laid of an intelligent appreciation of scientific methods, and a knowledge of the principles of such everyday machines as the motor car, the electric tram, electric bells, turbines, wireless sets, and of many things was acquired. A boy who left school with this training was well prepared to apply himself to the detailed study of any branch of science later on. Even those whose education ended with their school days acquired an interest in scientific things and were encouraged to apply their knowledge in many directions. They were able to take an intelligent interest in the world's progress, which depends so much on scientific method and knowledge. Again, as has been pointed out, many may find themselves in positions where the promotion or application of science may be their duty to the community, and their knowledge of the value of scientific method will urge them to a sympathetic attitude towards science and its needs.

Finally, 'literary people' with this scientific training would have their intellectual horizon broadened.

It is however most of all by the encouragement of research work that the best results are obtained. It is hardly necessary to point out that research-work is of its nature unproductive in its initial stages. In the days of Faraday great discoveries were made with the simplest and roughest kind of instrument, but even then the worker had to live. To-day science has reached such a state of refinement that progress is impossible without the aid of very expensive equipment. In general there can be no such thing as a private research scientist in our day. For even comparatively elementary work the amount of apparatus and "power" required is enormous and can only be supplied by a body endowed for this object. Hence the need of state aid for the Universities. Academic bodies are judged to a great extent by the amount of original research they produce. University professors are chosen rather on their record of original research than on their early success in examinations. They are paid higher salaries on the expectation that they will devote much time and attention to personal research and to directing that of their students. Every government is expected to contribute liberally to fostering research, which involves many years of patient work and the use of costly equipment. It is during his University Course that the student should specialise. In the address already referred to Sir J. J. Thomson quotes a passage from the Report of a Commission on the place of science in education of which he had been Chairman :—

> The training afforded by the study of Natural Science will be incomplete unless the student undertakes some piece of research work in which, relying as far as possible on his own resources, he applies his knowledge of Science and of the methods of scientific investigation to the solution of some problem. The effect of a year's work of this kind on the mental development of the student is most striking. He gains independence of thought, maturity of judgment, self-reliance, his critical powers are strengthened,

and his enthusiasm for science increased ; in fine he is carried from mental adolescence to manhood. [On this Sir J. J. Thomson comments] : It must always be borne in mind that the primary object of a university laboratory is not the same as that of a laboratory where there are no students in training, such as the Natural Physical Laboratory or the laboratory of a great firm. In such laboratories the main object is to get results, to discover as many new facts as possible. In a university laboratory the most important thing is to produce well-trained and well-educated men rather than to turn out the largest number of small papers.

The same writer does not minimise the danger of too great specialising at this stage, and stresses the importance of " attending lectures and reading books which are not on his own subject . . . . I think it helps one to get new ideas if the mind does not dwell too long on one subject without interruption, and if every now and then the trend of one's thought is broken. It is, I think, a general experience that new ideas about a subject come when one is not thinking about it."

From all this it follows that great liberty must be allowed professors and their students in research work. The State could help directly towards the solution of actual problems by offering substantial prizes for results tending towards practical remedies and improvements. The general aim in scientific education should be to make scientific knowledge and scientific method an important feature of intellectual activity.

An undoubted objection to the development of the scientific spirit—common to all human activities—is the danger that absorption in such pursuits tends to monopolise the mind to the exclusion of other interests. A corrective is necessary ; and this is best found in a solid general education based on a sound philosophy and religion, and the persuasion that neither science nor any other branch of learning can be looked on as an end in itself, but that all mental activity is but a step towards that complete knowledge which is only partially possible in our present life.

H. V. Gill

FATHER JOHN McENERY AND PALAEOLITHIC MAN

1796—1841

BY THOMAS CANON SHEEHAN

IN a sermon preached at St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, Cardinal Hayes referred to Father John McEnery as the founder of modern Anthropology; and Sir Arthur Keith, speaking of the same obscure priest, says that of all the scientists who lived at the beginning of the nineteenth century this priest alone broke his way into the world of palaeolithic man. As the result of his own observation and reflection McEnery reached a conclusion in favour of the higher antiquity of the human race which he maintained against Buckland the Reader of Geology in the University of Oxford, who was then regarded as the greatest authority on the subject of prehistory. About the same time or a little later other students on the Continent had arrived at a similar conclusion; but McEnery was the first in England to enunciate it and to lay down certain principles of cavern research which are now universally accepted.

His name is almost unknown, because the work which he had prepared on the subject was never published in his lifetime. It was withheld principally because of the opposition of the scientists. If the ecclesiastical authorities had forbidden its publication, McEnery's name would now be familiar in such sentences as the following: "The Rev. John McEnery held bold and original views on the antiquity of man, but the Church of Rome, always the enemy of free inquiry, forbade him to publish them" or "The Rev. J. McEnery made very important discoveries in pleistocene strata near Torquay, but his attempt to make them known was sternly repressed by

the authorities of the Church of Rome." Now, however, the whole blame is laid on the geologists themselves. Sir William Boyd Dawkins says that the scientific world was not sufficiently educated to accept McEnery's teaching; William Pengelly regards the opposition of the scientists as evidence that geologists do not always rise superior to the weaknesses of human nature, one of which is a tendency to ignore unwelcome facts.

John McEnery was born in Limerick on November 17, 1796. He was educated for the priesthood in St. Munchin's Seminary at Park on the outskirts of the city. He was ordained in 1819 for the diocese of Limerick. Soon after his ordination the bishop of Limerick required a coadjutor and proposed the name of a Franciscan friar for that important office. This aroused strong opposition among the priests of the diocese—according to the system then prevailing every priest had a vote in the election of a bishop. McEnery took a prominent part against the appointment, and it was considered more prudent for him to withdraw from the diocese. Accordingly he took up work in the Western District of England, the Vicar Apostolic of which—Bishop Collingridge—was (strange to say) a Franciscan. As far as one can ascertain, McEnery never again visited Limerick; but his fame as a scientist must have reached his native city, for a friend of his, Rev. William Downes, left among his papers two letters marked "Rev. John McEnery left the diocese for England; became remarkable in England."

In 1822 Bishop Collingridge appointed him chaplain to the Cary family at Torquay at a salary of £120 a year and the keep of a horse. It was in 1825 that almost by accident his attention was directed to Kent's Cavern, described by Sir Arthur Keith as a "rambling subterranean series of chambers." The entrance to the cave is on the western side of the beautiful vale of Ilsham near the picturesque town of Torquay.

Kent's Cavern had been known from time immemorial.

Lord Bacon is said to have visited it, Richard Colley of London carved his name on the stalagmite in the year 1619, and there is also the name of Richard Hedges of Ireland with the date 1688 ; but it seems that " Ireland " was the name of a farm near Dartmouth and that Hedges was probably a smuggler in hiding. There is, however, no record of any systematic exploration of the cave until Father McEnery began the researches of which he writes thus : " In defect of others better qualified to accomplish the investigations I commenced digging at the close of 1825." He continued his self-imposed task for nearly four years, his last recorded visit to the cavern taking place on the eve of the Assumption, 1829. Beneath the stalagmite floor he found remains of mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, cave hyena, cave bear, lion, elephant and Irish elk. His most notable find was in what is known as the Wolf's Passage, where he picked up four teeth of the *Machairodus Latidens*, the terrible sabre-mouthed tiger extinct since the Quaternary Ice Age.

After his death a controversy arose as to whether McEnery had ever found the teeth of the Machairodus in Kent's Cavern. Dr. Falconer, who raised the doubt, in no way impugned McEnery's good faith ; but he thought it possible that they might have been presented to him by some continental scientist on the occasion of his visit to the Val d'Arno and might have got mixed up with McEnery's own fossil collection. Since the finding of his manuscript, which was lost for many years, there can exist no longer any uncertainty since he had marked down carefully the date and the spot in the cavern where he had found them. To make certainty more secure the British Association undertook the expense of a thorough search. The work was accomplished under the supervision of the eminent geologist William Pengelly. After working for seven years and four months another relic of the Machairodus was found on the 20th July, 1877, and Pengelly assured the British Association that the

finding of that one relic was worth all the money that had been spent in the exploration of the cavern.

McEnery even hacked his way into the workshop of palaeolithic man. In this section he found on the floor chips like the small chips in a sculptor's shop, showing that it was here that pre-historic man prepared his implements of unpolished stone. Charred bones lying around showed it was here also that palaeolithic man had roasted and eaten the flesh of animals killed in the chase. In the same geological bed he found flint implements mingled with the bones of the extinct animals. He cites a Catholic friend of his to testify that both were found together under stalagmite that had never been disturbed. From this he formed the conclusion that man in Devonshire was the contemporary of the mammoth, the cave bear and the woolly rhinoceros. This was McEnery's special contribution to science.

Such high antiquity for man had never before been claimed, and the consequence was that McEnery came into collision with the scientists of his day. "McEnery," says the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "recognised the fact that they (the flint implements found mingled with the bones of extinct animals) proved the existence of man in Devonshire whilst the animals were alive, but the idea was too novel to be accepted by his contemporaries." He had a spirited argument with Buckland on the subject, and it was because of his advanced opinion in this respect that the publication of his manuscript was withheld. McEnery died in 1841, but it was not until 1858 that the principle was fully promulgated by Sir Joseph Prestwich in his memoirs addressed to the Royal Society of England and the French Academy of Science on the subject of Flint Implements in Geological Beds. Prestwich had genius enough to make such a discovery for himself; but he also had the chivalry to give full credit where it was due, and he devoted part of the paper to a discussion of the labours of McEnery, "whose untimely

death has deprived science of the result of his invaluable researches."

During his four years of work in the cave McEnery had been writing an account of his labours and discoveries, but the history of his manuscript is the history of a tragedy. Father Kevin Clark, O.P., has given us the fullest account of McEnery's attempt at publication and its final failure. The first mention of it is in a letter from McEnery to Sir William Trevelyan in which he says that he intends to publish a plain account of what he had found in the cavern. The Protestant Bishop of Bath and Wells, in a letter also written to Sir William Trevelyan, tells him that McEnery has arranged his Kent's Cavern collection very neatly and has prepared an account of the cavern as far as his own observations go. Both these letters were written in 1826. In November of the same year Sir Henry de la Beche, Director of the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain, read a paper before the Geological Society of London on "Tor and Babbacombe Bays," and in a footnote to the published paper he wrote : "The Rev. J. McEnery, who has formed a very good collection of these remains, intends, I believe, to publish an account of them."

The next we hear of the proposed publication is in 1828. He had evidently made some effort to get the book published, but had failed because of the expense involved and the risk of financial loss. McEnery was all his life a poor man, and the learned societies would not help because of his daring views on the antiquity of man. Their opposition was deadly. He made a fruitless appeal for subscriptions. The prospectus of the proposed work may be seen at the Natural History Museum, Torquay.

About 1829 McEnery had met with a severe accident ; having penetrated into an unknown section of the cave, he was overcome by foul air. A Catholic working man named John Walsh entered at the risk of his own life and dragged him forth to safety. From early in 1830 to the

end of 1831 McEnery was absent on the Continent. But on his return he was evidently busy with the projected publication of his work; for in a paragraph of the Teignmouth Guide for 1832 or 1833 we read: "Kent's Cavern has been diligently explored, and we are looking forward with great interest to the publication of a work that has been announced by a gentleman of Torquay which will contain an account of the treasures that have been unearthed."

McEnery was again absent on the Continent from 1834 to 1838 and probably took the manuscript with him. The Rev. Kevin Clark notes that the French scientist de Blainville, in his great work *Osteographie*, frequently cites McEnery's work as if it had been printed; McEnery must have shown him the manuscript, or at least the plates, and de Blainville assumed that the work had been published. At any rate it won for him the high honour of election to the Société Géologique de France, which was conferred in 1837 on the recommendations of M. de Blainville, Professor of Comparative Anatomy at the Jardin des Plantes, and of M. Brochant de Villiers, Professor at the Ecole des Mines. Encouraged perhaps by this distinction his hopes rose once more, and on his return to England in 1838 he announced his intention of recording the history of his researches;[1] but he was again doomed to disappointment. He was never to recover health or buoyancy, and the manuscript was never to be published in his lifetime.

After his death in 1841 it was sold for a few shillings to a tradesman of Torquay interested in Devon fossils, Mr. Lear of Lawrence Place. For years it was regarded as lost, but it was finally discovered and purchased by Mr. W. Long of Saxmundham, Suffolk, who presented it to Mr. Edmund Vivian. In 1856 Vivian read a paper before the British Association at Cheltenham on the subject of the remains in Kent's Cavern; he acknowledged

[1] A note in the Mission Book at Torquay, written by himself, says that he resumed duty on October 1st, 1838.

that the source of his information was the original manuscript of Rev. J. McEnery—" which is deplored by Professor Owen in his Fossil Mammalia and by other writers as lost to science, but which has been recovered by Mr. E. Vivian and was produced before the section."

In 1867 Vivian presented the manuscript to the Torquay Natural History Society, and there it has found a worthy resting place. Pengelly edited the work for the Transactions of the Devonshire Association, and it may be found in their volume for the year 1869. Pengelly did his work with the greatest reverence, being careful not to put in a word of his own, not even when a word is missing in the manuscript or could not be clearly discerned. The Rev. Kevin Clark gives the following summary of the work: " This voluminous manuscript, now in the Torquay Museum, may be divided into ten fascicules, and consists of separate narratives or essays : in which the cavern and the discoveries made in it are described and their bearing on Palaeontology, Archaeology, Anthropology and Theology are discussed. Probably there were originally 600 written pages, of which about 400 survive."

McEnery's scientific collection was so notable that, after his death, the President of the British Association in a public address expressed a hope that part of it at least might find a home in the British Museum. The fossils were of pleistocene mammalia, that is, of animals which may be roughly described as belonging to the period immediately before the dawn of history. The authorities of the British Museum responded readily to the advice given them and sent down a representative to the auction—with, it is said, the public purse at his disposal to make extensive purchases. He succeeded in getting one tooth of the Machairodus ; one was bought on behalf of Lord Enniskillen, who presented it to the Royal College of Surgeons ; one was bought by Dr. Lionel Phillips and sent to the Oxford Museum ; and one was sent to the Royal

Geographical Society. During his lifetime, though poor in pocket, McEnery was magnificently generous in presenting his fossil specimens to those who appreciated them. He enriched by his gifts the museums of London, York, Bristol, and more than once he made presents to the Jardin des Plantes in Paris. Not many perhaps desire to possess a bone of the woolly rhinoceros or the cave hyena or the mammoth; but the scientific imagination is impressed and zest for research is stimulated by relics of these huge animals that lived their wild lives and ran their course before the dawn of history.

It was indeed a strange world to which McEnery's mind went back; the world of the great mammalia, of the prehistoric elephant, of the sabre-mouthed tiger with its incisor teeth like a sharp sword and its canine teeth like a sword double-edged and serrated; a world in which there dwelt a race of men, not with a well-developed sense of beauty like the cave men of Altimira in Spain, but utterly rude and uncivilised. Although culturally on the lowest scale, yet if we knew them better we might find that, like the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, they had a strict moral code with a belief in the future life and a tradition concerning the origin of the world surprisingly like the Christian teaching; or we might find that, like the poor Tasmanian aborigines, "their daily habits show a profound sense of decency and modesty" (Quatrefages).

The old Mission Book at Torquay (which the present Parish Priest, Canon Higgins, kindly permitted me to examine) bears witness to McEnery's love for his flock and love of the Church and devotion to the Vicar of Christ. He kept a complete list of his people, and before going on the Continent in 1834 he drew up a fresh list. In recording the funerals of his people he sometimes expresses his own regard for the departed; of an old man, William Lake, a servant of the Cary family, he writes that his long service was well and faithfully discharged,

of an Irish lady in reduced circumstances, Catherine Butler, he writes: "She died a saint."

On May 19th, 1840, he performed a funeral service, and following the record of this funeral is the note: "From this date the health of the Rev. J. McEnery declined visibly. P. W." The initials are those of Patrick Woods, an eccentric but good-hearted priest who may have been with McEnery during his last illness and who certainly carried on duty for ten weeks after his death.[1] McEnery died on February 18, 1841, and was buried in the old churchyard at Torre. The epitaph on his gravestone contains intrinsic evidence that it was written by the distinguished historian Dr. Oliver. It states that McEnery as a clergyman conciliated all classes by his amiable manners and that as a scholar he inspired respect by his vigorous intellect, his polished taste and his varied learning. It concludes thus: "Mr. McEnery was the pioneer of systematic observation in Kent's Hole and other Caverns in this neighbourhood, the sagacious and reverent observer of the works in nature of Him whose is the earth and the fullness thereof."

THOMAS SHEEHAN

[1] Patrick Woods had been a member of the Chapter of the archdiocese of Dublin, but for some reason or another had relinquished the office.

REVIEWS

Catholic Action

L'ACTION CATHOLIQUE. Essai de Synthèse. Par Paul Dabin, S.J. Paris : Bloud et Gay. 1930. 12 fr.

L'APOSTOLAT LAIQUE. Par Paul Dabin, S.J. Paris : Bloud et Gay. 1931. 12 fr.

LA ACCION CATOLICA. Por Narciso Noguer, S.J. 2 vols. Madrid : Editorial Razón y Fe. 1930. 8 ptas.

THESE volumes are only a small selection from the large number of recent studies that have appeared within the past three or four years, all of them bearing titles more or less similar to those quoted above. From a bibliography printed by P. Noguer at the end of his second volume, I find that in Italy Professor Civardi has published a *Manuale di Azione Cattolica* in 2 vols., whilst A. M. Cavagna has produced an important theological study on *La Collaborazione Apostolica* (Milan : Vita e Pensiero), which is frequently quoted by P. Dabin in his treatise on *L'Apostolat laique.* In Spain the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo published in 1926 an official programme of Spanish Catholic Action, of which he is the official Director ; and P. Noguer's two volumes come from the leading Jesuit sociologist in that country. In Germany P. Fr. Muckermann, S.J., and P. J. Will, S.J., have produced a *Katholische Aktion,* as have also P. Erhard Schlund, O.F.M. and Herr W. Cremers. In France, apart from the two works under review, P. Janvier, O.P., has given us *L'Action Catholique,* and in Belgium the Abbé Leclercq has published an *Essai sur l'Action Catholique.* Finally in America the Archbishop of St. Paul, Dr. Dowling, has written an official account of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, which is the official American organisation for Catholic Action and which this year renamed its organ *Catholic Action.*

All these various treatises go back to the encyclical letters of the four recent Popes, and especially the encyclicals and other official pronouncements of the present Holy Father, for their definitions of Catholic action. "The participation of the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy." That is the official definition of Pope Pius XI, as formulated in his first encyclical letter, *Ubi arcano Dei.* P. Dabin studies this definition in all its implications, quoting freely from Scripture and the Fathers in support of his thesis : that from the first ages of the Church's history the laity have been called to a very real share in the apostolate, and to a certain extent in the authority, of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. As to the meaning of the word apostolate, there is little difficulty : it is the mission entrusted to certain persons by God

for the salvation of souls. Bishops and priests are not adequate to the whole of that task: hence the need, and the duty, of the laity to co-operate—not only by prayer and good example, but also by an active apostolate. And P. Dabin makes it plain from the very words of Pope Pius XI that this apostolate of the laity is not to be a nebulous programme, but a well-defined and highly organised effort, under the direction of the Catholic hierarchy, but officered and disciplined by zealous laymen. Catholic action is, so the Pope insists, exclusively the sphere of laymen, acting for a common purpose under the direction of the ordinary hierarchy of the Catholic Church. That the co-ordination of these forces has caused in the past and always will cause difficulty is not denied by P. Dabin; but he looks forward to the day when Canon Law will include a special section *De Laicis*, regulating their activity in its minutest detail; and he holds that the programme of Catholic action issued by the Holy Father marks one of the great turning-points in the history of Catholic supernatural life.

P. Noguer's two volumes are more practical. Beginning with the definitions of the Pope, he defines the members of what he calls "The Army of Catholic Action"; then the weapons they must use—prayer, good example, social relations, organisation; the field of action—social work, education, the defence of morality, propaganda in defence of Catholic ideals of culture, both intellectual and physical, political activity. Finally a very practical section gives an account of the various organisations which have come into being at the call of the present Holy Father—in Italy, Germany, Spain—as types of Catholic action. The first edition of these two volumes appeared in 1930; a second edition was called for within a year; and a third volume was projected for 1931, in which the story of Catholic action should be brought up-to-date by an account of recent decrees, organisations, etc. So far as we know, this project has been interrupted by the recent Spanish Revolution. Catholic action in Spain has been set a task that will be followed with sympathy by Catholics the world over.

P. D.

DIE SOZIALPRINZIPIEN DES HL. THOMAS VON AQUIN. Von Dr. Robert Linhardt. Freiburg: Herder. 1932. 8.80 M.

This is one of those scholarly and solid books on social principles of which Germany has given us so many in the last decade. It is, indeed, difficult to speak with restraint of its valuable qualities: the conscientious and laborious research which must have gone

to its making, its cool objectivity, its admirable thoroughness, and equally admirable conciseness and economy of language. It is far from being an easy book to read, and certainly makes no serious attempt to win the attention of the uninterested reader, chiefly because it was not written for the dilettante in social problems. But coming, as it does, from a German professor of Moral Theology already well-known for his other works, we look rather for a serious sense of responsibility in dealing with grave questions than for any attempt to stir and startle by some all-too glib and facile analysis and solution of the evils of our day.

English-speaking Catholics need half-a-dozen or so of such books as this to enable them to plant their feet firmly on objective truth and fundamental principles, and to dispel a fog of doubt and confusion which has gathered round big social questions. There seems to be a fairly common belief among Catholic economists in Ireland, England and America that the science of ethics, and especially social ethics, is something that any well-educated man can master in a few weeks' study of some common text-book. And Catholic moralists reciprocate the compliment by believing that the science of economics is a matter of child's-play to the average person, to be acquired from a study of some popular explanations in pamphlets or periodicals as occasion may arise. The consequence is an ever-growing spate of " crank " solutions, fads, nonsensical orders shouted to the State authority, all given forth in the columns of the periodical press as the " Catholic " theory, the " Christian " solution, and frequently tied on to *Rerum Novarum* or *Quadragesimo Anno*, or labelled with the much-abused name of St. Thomas Aquinas. In no other branches of learning—in medicine or engineering, for example—would such irresponsible action be tolerated. But in morals as applied to economics, and in economics as affected by morals, even persons who by their office or profession should give an example of prudence and cautiousness, gaily prance forward to butcher the present economic system to make a holiday for their readers, and from its *membra disjecta* they string together a caricature which they variously christen the " natural state," or the " Christian commonwealth," or some similar inappropriate title.

Dr. Linhardt affords a relieving contrast to such writers. His book is a preliminary collection of material from St. Thomas's works, on which a further volume or volumes will be based. But it is something more : it is a self-contained and detailed guide through St. Thomas's labyrinthine thought on social questions. It contains five chapters, in which are treated the method of St.

Thomas in dealing with social ethics, the significance of St. Thomas's metaphysic for his social philosophy, and the juridical, sociological and economic philosophy of St. Thomas. The sources are generally quoted in full, so that probably one-third of the book consists of the Latin text of St. Thomas, which Dr. Linhardt seems to know upside down and inside out. In his quotations, too, the reference to the work is given, and then the essential words only (or what Dr. Linhardt believes are the essential words) for the purpose in hand are given : an excellent system which does away with much useless repetition, and makes the value of the argument of the author much more easily judged. Possibly we shall be able to deal more fully with this work at a later date : for the moment we must content ourselves with giving it a whole-hearted recommendation and with paying Dr. Linhardt the compliment of telling him our impatience for the appearance of the promised sequel. E. J. C.

Biography

THE LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Horace K. Mann, D.D. Vol. XVIII. Boniface VIII to Benedict XI. London : Kegan Paul. 1932. 15s. net.

THE present volume of Dr. Mann's history is devoted to the pontificates of Boniface VIII and of Blessed Benedict XI. Benedict's reign was too short to have any marked effect upon ecclesiastical policy. But the pontificate of Boniface—although this is a view with which Dr. Mann does not agree—is generally supposed to be the last stage in the controversy between the spiritual and the temporal powers. The bull *Unam Sanctam* represents the last phase of that great controversy, not in the sense that the struggle ceased with Boniface, for it continues to our own time, but in the sense that the papal claim here receives its complete expression. Boniface may have been unfortunate in his critics from Dante onwards, but it is Dr. Mann's opinion that he certainly rose to the height of his great office.

Reviewing the whole history of his pontificate, Dr. Mann is impressed with the courage of Boniface. He is convinced that, in the controversy with Philip the Fair, Boniface continued the constant tradition of the papacy and put forward no pretensions to any greater authority in temporal matters than had been claimed by his predecessors. The character of Philip, with which the pope was already familiar, and the influence exercised over him by his entourage of lawyers were certain to lead to difficulty with the papacy. This trouble soon came to a head when the

pope arranged a peace between Philip and Edward I of England. The appeal to arrange this peace was made to Boniface as a private individual, as Benedict Gaetani, showing that Philip was unwilling to admit any official claim of the pope to judge of temporal affairs. Philip evaded the fulfilment of the conditions of this peace, until his disastrous defeat by the Flemings at Courtrai forced him to hand over Gascony to Edward.

In 1296 Boniface published the bull *Clericis laicos* dealing with the problem of the taxation of clerics. This bull was issued as the result of an appeal by the clergy of England and France. According to Dr. Mann ; "*Clericis laicos* did not put forth any new claim, but it did put forth a strong sanction for the enforcement of a then recognised clerical immunity." The bull, however, "caused the greatest commotion exactly where one would have expected, namely in England and in France." Elsewhere it was accepted. Dr. Mann admits that "the action of Boniface in its publication was inconsiderate" and "that the bull had not been drawn up with the care necessary to provide for exceptional circumstances." Boniface, in face of the difficulties of the English and French clergy, explained that his constitution did not touch the fiefs held by ecclesiastics and that the clergy might be taxed for the necessary defence of the realm, provided that the amount was previously submitted to the pope. "Ultimately *Clericis laicos*, with the explanations that followed it, were all withdrawn by Pope Clement V by his bull *Quoniam ex Constitutione* (Feb. 1st, 1306)."

Relations between France and the papacy continued to be strained and were finally broken by Philip's treatment of the bishop of Pamiers, Bernard Saisset. This led to the issue of the bull *Ausculta Fili* (Dec. 5th, 1301)—"in the main," according to Dr. Mann, "a model of what a well-merited expostulatory letter ought to be." Boniface points out that, notwithstanding his affection for the royal house of France, he cannot pass over the king's misdeeds and the evils he is inflicting upon all classes. The king is to let no one persuade him that he has no superior and that he is not subject to the chief shepherd of the fold. The bishops of France have been summoned to Rome to take counsel in this emergency, taking all due heed of the king's honour. Philip in reply summoned his States General and, for their information, published a forged bull—*Scire te volumus*—in which Boniface is made to claim direct temporal power over the realm of France. In judging the novelty of Boniface's claims to temporal power this forged bull is of great importance. If a novel claim had emerged in the genuine bulls of Boniface, it would not have been necessary for Philip to resort to forgery.

It may, however, be urged that Boniface's final bull—*Unam Sanctam* (Nov. 18th, 1302)—goes further than his previous claims. This bull, as M. Rivière points out, is very carefully drafted. Dr. Mann contends that it makes no further claim to temporal power than an indirect claim *ratione peccati*. This, of course, is the well-known interpretaion of Bellarmine. But M. Rivière, although he admits that the dogmatic portion of the bull is quite unexceptionable, is inclined to hold that the body of the bull makes a considerable advance in the papal claims. No doubt papalist writers of the period were in fact claiming direct temporal power for the papacy. And one writer actually goes so far as to hold that all property as well as all temporal jurisdiction is directly vested in the pope. But all this is beside the question of Boniface's bull. That Boniface definitely asserts that the State is inferior in its nature to the Church need not be denied. But this statement has no particular significance in the controversy. It would have been universally admitted at the time, and in any case it follows in sheer logic from the whole christian philosophy. That it is the function of the priest to institute (*instituere*) the king is merely a reference to the rite of coronation. The metaphor of the two swords is a commonplace borrowed from St. Bernard's *De Consideratione*. Admittedly Boniface pushes the metaphor to its extreme limit, and the significance of his bull rests on the interpretation of this passage. Both swords are in the power of the Church—the material and the spiritual swords—the one to be wielded *pro Ecclesia*, the other *ab Ecclesia*; the one by the priest, the other by the hand of kings and soldiers, but "*ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis*." How is this passage to be interpreted? If Boniface believed in the direct power of the papacy over emperors and kings, he certainly did not state his belief anywhere in clear and unambiguous language. He is quite definite elsewhere that he makes no pretence to pass judgment *de feudo*. One may admit a change in emphasis from the Gelasian view. And some centuries were to pass before the theory received more exact theological formulation from the hand of Saint Bellarmine.

D. O'Keeffe.

WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM. By G. C. Heseltine. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1932. 6s. net.

GREAT YORKSHIREMEN. By G. C. Heseltine. London: Longmans. 1932. 16s. net.

Mr. Heseltine possesses, as his readers will agree, many of the qualities that go to the making of an interesting writer. He has

a pungency of style and a certain provocativeness of mind that give his books a very attractive flavour. He has in no small degree the gift of humour. And he is, moreover, a militant Catholic, ever ready to challenge with a full knowledge of all the relevant facts the verdicts passed in Protestant history on the great names and institutions of Catholic England. This last quality gives him a certain resemblance to Mr. Belloc, and it augurs well for the future of Catholic writing in English that it should have among its leaders a writer of his qualities.

His study of William of Wykeham is a good example of his literary powers. The book is both a biography and a commentary, though the biographical side is less important for the writer's purpose. He is less interested in the man than his age, of which he takes him as the type. He writes ever with his eye on the standards of appraisement popular in our own day. And if in our time popular judgment makes much of the superman, William of Wykeham might claim that appellation as well as any of those whom contemporary judgments have invested with that title to fame.

Mr. Heseltine discusses the achievement of his subject under several heads—architect, statesman, bishop, benefactor of education—and he makes a good case for his eminence not merely in comparison with his contemporaries, but also in comparison with those of later times whom history styles great Englishmen.

In two of these spheres there would be no serious dispute as to his claims to be called great, for the memorials of his greatness in them stand plain for all to see. As a good Wykehamist Mr. Heseltine emphasises his work in those spheres—building and pious foundation. His work as a great figure in the national policy of his time and as a bishop is discussed with a thoroughness that shows him to have been not only a great Englishman, but that much greater thing, a great Catholic. Many of Mr. Heseltine's predecessors have laboured to present William as a precursor of the religious revolt which sundered England from the universal Church. This book clearly and convincingly shows that there is for this view no foundation outside the bias, perhaps inescapable, so widely manifest in the treatment by post-reformation historians of pre-reformation England.

Mr. Heseltine views the subject of his book *sub specie fidei*, and in his discussions enjoys himself with sundry acute tilts against many things in modern life that are at variance with the simplicity of mediaeval ways in both secular and religious life. Sometimes it would seem as if his love of tilting leads him some-

what from his path. There is little use, it seems to us, in defending the undoubted pluralism of William and others of his time by mentioning modern polygamy or profiteering. The modern things are bad, and the mediaeval thing was bad, and there is no more about it. To the mediaeval mind perhaps it may not have seemed abnormal that a man should possess several benefices, but surely it is raising a false issue to suggest, as does Mr. Heseltine, that there is a parallelism between pluralism of benefices and pluralism of directorships in modern companies.

The second book is a series of sketches of Yorkshire worthies. In hunting for his subjects Mr. Heseltine has come to his desk with a mixed bag. The portraits—or rather sketches—are struck off with the verve and skill of an accomplished artist. Twelve men are selected for treatment, and in them all the writer professes to find qualities of character typical of their and the author's shire. The range covered in respect both of time and activities is wide and varied, and the result is a book that is always charming in style and often valuable for its matter. Not everyone will agree that all the subjects chosen are worthy of the writer's skill, but there will be no dispute about the majority of them. One finds it difficult to particularize, but perhaps the best are those entitled " A Philanthropist " and " A Scholar," which seem to bring out most happily the writer's special gift of humour and power of pure fun-making. It is faint praise to say of the majority of them that they are well worth reading. One would like to express the hope that Mr. Heseltine will give his readers more of those essays in biographical portraiture. There is no need for him to confine himself to Yorkshire models, for no one seems better qualified than he to write a new series of *Short Studies of Great Subjects.* W. J. W.

NAPOLEON. By F. M. Kircheisen. Translated from the German by Henry St. Lawrence. London: Howe. 1931. 30s. net.
NAPOLEON. By Jacques Bainville. Paris: Fayard. 1931. 16 fr. 50.

THESE two volumes, the one French the other from the German, are the work of authors of acknowledged authority in Napoleonic studies. Dr. Kircheisen has written a nine-volume history of Napoleon and his era, together with a bibliography of the most important of the 100,000 works whose titles he has collected in the course of this task. M. Bainville has won in his own country the title of " le meilleur historien de Napoléon." In his preface he lays down that the number of books essential to a knowledge of

his subject is 500, while a library, to be complete, should contain 10,000 volumes.

The German author summarises here the results of a life-long study commenced at the age of sixteen. He follows Napoleon almost in daily attendance, from Corsica to St. Helena. Legends are discarded in favour of a truthful account of a life, sufficiently crowded with incident and achievement to need no romantic creations of historical imagination to make its story interesting.

A large portion of the book is devoted to the campaign which made Napoleon master of Europe for a time. The detailed description is difficult to follow even with the aid of the maps accompanying the book. It would require something of the skill of the military strategist combined with a first-hand knowledge of the battle grounds to visualize clearly the pictures drawn of the Italian War, Wagram, Leipzig and Waterloo. The story of the naval encounters, notably Aboukir Bay and Trafalgar, because less complicated in detail, are more vivid. Side by side with the battle stories, a close examination is made of the Emperor's military organisation and tactics. Here there is a note of adverse criticism. Attention is drawn to his tendency of relying more on his own instinct and his capacity to grasp quickly the salient points of a military situation than on the greater local knowledge and experience of his most trusted commanders and advisers. Ignorant of Russian conditions and the difficulties of a campaign in that country he rejected the advice of Caulaincourt, Duroc, and Segur. The result was disaster.

It is not to be supposed that the other activities of the Emperor as a diplomat, statesman, jurist, civil administrator are neglected. The administration which he built up under the Consulate for the centralisation of French government, the changes necessary when the Consulate became the Empire, to give way in turn to the Great Empire, are all described lucidly. The organisation of his household, his decisive part in the fashioning of the Code Napoleon, the organisation of the Continental System, each throws a light on his character in showing his personal superintendence of small details of his domestic life, his grasp of the realities of the situation with which England's opposition faced him, his thorough understanding of legal principles if not of legal phrase.

M. Bainville's method is different. He does not follow as faithfully the journey of Napoleon. It is not his purpose to attempt a resumé of all the truth about his subject, but rather to paint a good likeness of the man. The principal events in his life are collected here; detail which is necessary to a full account but

unimportant in itself, is rejected or but glanced at. The progress of the battle is less important than its consequences ; these and the small enlightening points command more attention than the description of military stratagem or the intricacies of diplomatic by-play.

The part that chance had in the development of Napoleon's fortunes is dwelt on. An example is found in his early preoccupation with Corsican affairs and the island's rejection of its ambitious liberator. What success in his Corsican dreams would have meant to history opens a field of speculation which the author wisely leaves uncultivated. Yet the failure in these early plans, noteworthy in view of his later dazzling success in the wider European sphere, may well be marked as a parting of the ways. Again in twentyfour hours of confinement at Auxonne, with "The Institutes of Justinian" as his sole comforter, the author finds the source of that knowledge of Roman laws that was to astonish the Council of State in its deliberations on the Civil Code.

The differences of opinion among historians are well illustrated by the differing degrees of importance these two writers attach to the same events. M. Bainville argues that the Russian alliance was "la pièce maitresse" of Napoleon's policy and that his negotiations for a Russian bride were an attempt to cement that alliance. The Austrian marriage was to repair the injury to his prestige by another marriage, "plus étonnant et plus flatteur." Herr Hegemann holds that "it is very doubtful if Napoleon was really in earnest about his Russian wooing." His proposed bride was too young, of a different faith, and of a much less distinguished house than the Austrian Imperial House. "Presumably the publicity accorded to the Russian marriage project was intended to create an impression upon Vienna."

A more important divergence of opinion is on the question of the ultimate cause of Napoleon's defeat. M. Bainville appears to award the palm of victory to England's unwearying opposition, which Napoleon was unable to break by either economic or military war. Herr Hegemann attaches less importance to this opposition and more to the national uprisings. He avers that the Continental System caused suffering to both France and England through the ruin of French sea-borne trade and English trade with America. In the field at Waterloo he gives the main credit to the German troops under an English higher command. He argues that in the preliminaries to the final battle Wellington was favoured by Providence "in not being punished for his incredible carelessness in leaving the concentration of his troops till it was too late."

P. F. D.

A HISTORY OF THE POPES. By Fernand Hayward. London : Dent. 1931. 12s. 6d. net.

LES PAPES A TRAVERS LES AGES. Tome II. By E. Lacoste. Paris : Bonne Presse. 1931. 5 fr.

THERE is no exaggeration in the claim made in the introductory note to M. Hayward's book, that it combines the utility of a work of reference with the interest attaching to a sound historical narrative. Of its utility there can be no question ; for it gives in compact yet lucid form a succession of biographical sketches of the Popes who have occupied the throne of Peter from the days of our Lord to Pius XI—that is to say that it is a history of what is, even from the merely human point of view, the greatest and the most dignified institution in the world. Still less can there be any question of its interest, for where in the records of history can there be found any succession of sovereigns, whose lives and actions have exercised so profound and lasting an influence on the destinies, temporal and eternal, of mankind ?

M. Hayward's book is accomplished in the best historical spirit. It is the work of a Catholic and was written at Rome under the guidance of the most competent ecclesiastical authorities, and is based on the most trustworthy sources. Pope Leo XIII, in appointing a commission to supervise the publication of historical matters contained in the Vatican Archives, enjoined that the history of the Papacy and of the Church should be written in absolute fidelity to the historical truth. And he quoted a maxim from Cicero for the guidance of those that should undertake the writing of this history :—*Nam quis nescit primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat ? Deinde ne quid veri non audeat ? Ne quae suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo ? Ne quae simultatis ?* This is the only sound principle on which history ought to be written, and M. Hayward seems to have observed the rule.

Of course many of the biographical sketches are mere outlines, the details being necessarily lost to the historical record. But of the greater Pontiffs the lives are given in a manner that is often surprisingly satisfactory considering the need for compression that lay upon the writer. M. Hayward's book, which should find a place in every Catholic library, is written in the attractive manner of which French writers are past masters, and that attractive quality is not lost in the English version so excellently rendered by the monks of St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate.

The second book mentioned above is only a short instalment of a work which in its complete form is obviously destined to occupy several parts. The Popes included number only eleven,

and the period covered embraces little more than a century—the years 139-250. Much of the details belong to the twilight period of the history of the Church, but the story is presented in well documented fashion. The period was rich in martyrs, and out of the martyrdoms one is shown the gradual growth of the Church and the Papacy. M. Lacoste is a well informed guide in these somewhat obscure regions of history; and his book, written in interesting fashion and excellently equipped with illustrations and authenticated references, will induce the reader to look forward with expectancy to the forthcoming parts.

W. J. W.

ST. JOHN EUDES. By Henri Joly. Translated by Rev. Joseph Leonard, C.M. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1932. 6s.

B. GRIGNON de MONTFORT. By Georges Rigault. Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1932. 5s.

ST. AUGUSTINE. By Heinrich Hubert Lesaar. Translated by T. Pope Arkell. Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1931. 6s.

M. Joly's Life of St. John Eudes is decidedly interesting, if not entirely satisfactory: and this comment applies with double force to the Introduction by Rev. Dr. Gauderon, C.J.M. The Life itself, while vivid and never dull, is marred by a certain sense of haste, perhaps inseparable from the life-story of a busy and active missioner, by an occasional want of precision in theological passages, easily pardonable in a lay biographer, and by a too bald discussion of ecclesiastical squabbles, a topic extremely difficult to treat with the kindness which comes from full understanding. It is, none the less, a very welcome addition to our all-too-scanty Eudist literature in English.

The Introduction by Dr. Gauderon is a piece of special pleading, quite pardonable from a spiritual son of St. John Eudes, but unfortunately a little lacking in proportion. Moreover—surprisingly enough—it seems hardly just to this great founder. Dr. Gauderon's thesis is that "the establishment of public worship of the Sacred Heart of Jesus is one of the greatest works accomplished by St. John Eudes," and he advances various arguments in support of his contention—for instance, the well-known eulogy in the Breviary and the fact that some years before the first revelation to St. Margaret Mary, St. John established this devotion in the six "Petits Séminaires" which he had founded. The truth is, of course, that St. John Eudes's claim to the reverence and gratitude of posterity is based on far more solid arguments than that of his

being one of the many precursors of St. Margaret Mary. He was a missioner of immense zeal and amazing success. The Congregation of Jesus and Mary, which he founded for the training of the clergy, was in charge of eighteen seminaries at the outbreak of the French Revolution ; and even to-day, after war and revolution have forced the Eudist Fathers to abandon their seminaries in Mexico and San Domingo, they still direct over a dozen seminaries in Colombia, Venezuela and Canada. His Congregation of Our Lady of Charity for the uplifting of fallen women counts at this moment more than forty-six monasteries in seven or eight different countries ; and the Good Shepherd Congregation, a daughter of his original Foundation, has at present twenty-nine provinces which include two hundred and eighty convents and nine thousand nuns.

As regards the devotion to the Sacred Heart, it will be convenient to draw from the actual book under review the necessary qualifications to Dr. Gauderon's panegyric. " Those who are learned in these matters, " writes M. Joly (p. 171), " and who have sought for the origin of this devotion in tradition, and especially in the statements of Saints of widely different ages and places, have shown that here, as elsewhere, there is nothing absolutely new. What *was* new was the reasoned organisation of an ancient belief. At the period at which we have now arrived, great geniuses in the Church did not fear to speak of the Heart of Jesus ; but they did so, we may say, with respectful obscurity . . . ." It would be wrong to deny that Father Eudes, like M. Olier and many others of his contemporaries, had an ardent devotion to the Hearts of Jesus and Mary. In his case, indeed, it would hardly be true to accuse him of a " respectful obscurity " in his endeavours to spread these ideas, or even to question his share in that " reasoned organisation of an ancient belief." As Dr. Gauderon claims, he was the first to have the solemn Feast of these Sacred Hearts celebrated by his sons. But, speaking historically, the phenomenal modern spread of devotion to the Sacred Heart began with the revelations to St. Margaret Mary, and owes less to St. John Eudes than to any one of half-a-dozen other famous names. M. Joly himself plays traitor to Dr. Gauderon's theory when he writes (p. 185) : " For, taking St. John Eudes' work as a whole, is it not devotion to the *Holy Heart of Mary* to which he has really raised a monument that bears his signature, and which is worthy, by itself, to perpetuate his fame ? "

M. Georges Rigault's Life of B. Grignon de Montfort is a far abler study than M. Joly's. The brief chapter on B. Grignon's

missionary work is, naturally, a hopeless jumble to one unacquainted with the geography of La Vendée. But M. Rigault is an artist with a sense of colour and form, and he does succeed in bringing out the eternal values behind the apparent chaos and failure of B. de Montfort's life.

After these two rather breathless Lives of busy missioners, Heinrich Lesaar's Life of St. Augustine makes pleasant and restful reading. Herr Lesaar is a good psychologist, and he avoids successfully the faults which one has come almost to expect with dread in German books. There is no wealth of prosy quotation from unimportant works, no terrifying bibliography, no attempt to impress the reader with the author's erudition. If one were to criticise, one might perhaps suggest that Herr Lesaar is somewhat over-fond of metaphor as a mode of explaining psychological states. And he is certainly very hard on poor St. Jerome ! (p. 213). D. D.

Celtica

IRISH DIALECTS, PAST AND PRESENT. By Thomas F. O'Rahilly. Dublin : Browne & Nolan. 1932. 5s. net.

Irish as a spoken language is dead to-day in the North-East and survives in but tiny fractions of seven Free State counties. Each of these fractions has a dialect all to itself. How far back in history can such differences be traced and in what circumstances did they originate ? What was the general position as regards dialect some two hundred years ago when Irish was the spoken language of almost the whole country ? How did Manx, before it disappeared, and how does Scotch Gaelic stand related to these Irish dialects ? Such are the questions to which Professor O'Rahilly returns summary answers in the book before us. More detailed treatment, he promises, will be offered as soon as possible in the pages of some learned periodical.

Professor O'Rahilly is keenly conscious of the difficulties of his task. The work should really have been undertaken five or six generations back, when the dialects were still flourishing in every quarter of the land. In many places now the only sources of information available are " the forms assumed by Irish names in English documents and the local pronunciation of place names, supplemented occasionally by Irish words which happen to have been preserved in local English." On this thin layer of treacherous sand a weighty edifice of conclusions has to be constructed. Professor O'Rahilly is unsparing in his criticism of past neglect in this field of study. First in the black list of guilty parties comes the literary class, who had small esteem for the speech of the

common people. Then comes Trinity College, the one institution capable of undertaking such a work. That University, however, had for the Irish and their language nothing but contempt. "It was designed," comments Professor O'Rahilly, "as an agent in the furtherance of the English conquest in Ireland; and apart from a few spasmodic efforts to use Irish for purposes of proseletysm, it remained until quite recent times too fanatically faithful to its founder's intentions to acknowledge the existence of the Irish language."

Worse than the open hostility of Trinity College and the Protestant ascendancy was the remissness of the Catholic clergy and laity. The climax in this respect came with the foundation of Maynooth College in 1795. "In Maynooth College English from the start held a position of complete supremacy, almost as if Trinity College had been taken as a model for the new institution. Henceforth English becomes in effect the official language of the Church in Ireland." No word of explanation is added, and the reader is left to draw the absurd conclusion that, as Trinity College rejected the Irish language because of anti-Irish bias, so Maynooth College neglected the native language for the same reason. Professor O'Rahilly might have asked himself how Irish professors and students, drawn from typical Irish homes, continued year by year to act in such an unpatriotic manner. He might have asked himself again, whether these professors and students, and the clerical body throughout the country, were not the backbone of the national movement, which found in them its most solid and able supporters. He might have said a word of the abject slavery under which the people groaned, and the impossibility of getting a hearing as long as the national case was put in a language which the oppressor ignored. If the leaders of the nation, lay and clerical, used English rather than Irish as their medium of expression, they did so for the reason that in this way alone did they see any hope of winning back for the people their lost national rights. The pariahs in India retain their native language, but they retain little else. Would they be justified in dropping their own language and adopting English, if they thought that change would put them on the way to spiritual and material independence? Would Catholic Emancipation ever have come if the case for it had not been put powerfully by Irishmen in the English tongue? Would the wonderful recovery of our people in the nineteenth century have been conceivable, if the language of our leaders was such as the alien rulers could not and would not understand? Would we have had any leaders at all or any

leaders capable of achieving results, if English had not been adopted as the common language ? These and similar questions require thoughtful answers, and cheap twentieth century heroics at the expense of noble men and true patriots of past generations are not lightly to be countenanced.

Every one of the twenty brief chapters in Professor O'Rahilly's book will be read with interest. Whether his observations are correct is a matter to be decided in many cases by local experts. His treatment of the whole subject is, at any rate, most stimulating and makes us wish that the more detailed studies which he has promised will soon be given to the public. J. R.

STAIR CHOITCHEANN NA RE CRIOSTAIDHE. I ndá imleabhar : imleabhar a h-aon : ón dtús go éirghe amach na bPratustún : an t-Ollamh N.A. Ueber do chéad-scríobh a Sacs-bhéarla : an t-Ollamh Pádhraic O Domhnalláin do rinne a Gaedhilg. Ar n-a foillsiú fá chúram Roinne an Oideachais : 396 lgh. 3s. 6d. a luach.

Tionntodh a Sacs-bhéarla an leabhar fíor-áiseach staire seo. Acht más eadh féin, tá trí buadha mór-thábhacha aige ; mar atá, buaidh ainmneach ndílis, buaidh ceárd-fhocal mbeacht, buaidh coimre. Dála na n-ainmneach, idir ainmneacha daoine is áiteann, idir shean is meadhon-aoiscach is nuaidh-réach díobh, do b'éigin don tionntóir na mílte díobh do sholáthar. Agus, mar is eol dúinn uile, ó ré na meadhon-ghaedhilge i leith, níor chuir aon scríobhaidhe dá raibh againn roimhe na h-ainmneacha dílse eachtrannacha do thabhairt fán gcruth gaedhlach do cuireadh orra san meadhon-ghaedhilg. Uime sin, ní branan féin fuair Pádhraic annso acht fásach. Seadh, thug sé sár-iarracht rí-ionmholta ar an bhfásach so do mhínuí agus mór-iongnadh liom-sa a fheabhas dh'eirigh leis.

Iomthúsa na gceard-fhocal, aoinne léighfeas an leabhar gheobhaidh sé ar gach leathanach iad. Maidir leis an gcoimre, is mór an t-éacht,—agus an sochar leis—stair na ré críostuidhe go dtí an bhl. 1517 do phulchadh isteach i leabhar 393 leathnach. Ní nach iongnadh, níl ann acht na cnámha, acht táid san ann fá ordú is fá eagar. An té le n-ar maith é, níl le déanamh feasta aige acht an gluaisteán gleoite iomlán do thógaint ar an bhfonnadh bhfonascamhail so atá an bheirt ollamhan ndúthrachtach so ar na cheapadh dhó.

Acht is ciapach an chéard é an tionntódh. Bíonn dochair fá leith ag gabháil leis. Oir, dh'fhéadfadh gaedhal tabhairt fé, dar liom, ar thrí cumaí. Dh'fhéadfadh sé smaointe a bhun-údair do scagadh trí n-a aigne, agus, annsan, caint chomhráiteach ghaed-

hilge do chur orra. Dh'fhéadfadh sé gaedhilg uasal, shaidhbhir liteardha do chur orra, idir leagana agus focla. Nó dh'fhéadfadh sé claoidh chomh dlúth san le n-a bhun-údar go n-imreochadh a leagana agus fiú féin a fhocal so tionchur ró-mhór ní h-amháin ar scríbhghné acht ar thogha focal fós an tionntóra. Sé chídhtear domhsa gurbh é an dara ní chur Pàdhraic roimhe ; agus, tríd is tríd, déarainn gur éirigh leis, dhá dhoilighe is dhá dhéine an tionnscnamh fá n-ar thug sé. Dh'fhág an bun-bhéarla a rian annso is annsúd ar a ghaedhilg, gan agó, acht is deimhin liom go maithfear so dhó ; oir, sé rud atá ar n-a dhéanamh aige, ná eang do snoidhe trí choill aimhréidh na staire, dá gaedhlú. Cuirtear feasta an chaoil-eang so i leithead go mba bóthar leathan lán-mhór í !

MICHEAL MAC CRAITH

Classics

ARISTOTE : Etudes sur la "Politique." Par M. Defourny, Professeur à l'Université de Louvain. (Bibliothèque des Archives de Philosophie). Paris : Beauchesne. 1932. 75 francs.

As is well-known, the *Politics* of Aristotle forms in reality a group of more or less separate treatises loosely joined together. The most obvious division of its contents is that into (1) a treatise on economics, (2) a treatise on social origins, (3) a treatise on forms of government, their classification, origins, defects and methods of preserving them, and (4) a treatise on education. Of these divisions by far the longest and most important is the third. The first and second are mere sketches, full of obscurities and contradictions, and the fourth is incomplete. Naturally enough, the third has had most attention devoted to it and has been treated with the greatest wealth of historical illustration. The work before us excludes almost entirely from its scope this most important part of the *Politics*, and confines itself to a series of studies on Aristotle's economic theories, his theory of education, and his sociology, in this order.

These studies are evidently the fruit of many years' work, and are based partly on articles which appeared as long ago as 1914. Probably it is this fact which has prevented their author from incorporating in his book, or allowing his point of view to be affected by, any of the conclusions of writers such as Jaeger, von Arnim, Stocks or Barker on the genesis and order of composition of the *Politics*. These conclusions, which in spite of differences all point in one direction, have to a large extent revolutionised the study of the book. If, for instance, the last two books of the *Politics*, which treat of education, are in fact

the earliest in the whole work, and reflect an ideology totally at variance with that which appears in Books IV to VI, this must surely make a huge difference in our attitude towards their teaching. One result at least of such work as Jaeger's should be to render antiquated all attempts at presenting the *Politics* as a single work dating from one period, and thereby to make unnecessary and ireelevant the irritating displacement in the traditional order of the books which became universal in modern German editions. It is a pity, though not of much consequence, that M. Defourny should perpetuate this antiquated displacement.

His work, we think, would have gained greatly in value if account had been taken otherwise than in the preface of the criticism we have mentioned. As it is, he gives us a very useful series of studies upon what are in some ways the most difficult parts of the *Politics*. His method in each case is first of all to expound Aristotle's theory, then to relate it to the background of his time and show its intelligibility in the light of contemporary Greek problems. How suitable is this exegesis to Aristotle's own method will be at once apparent. His drawback perhaps is that M. Defourny is somewhat too ready to find in every case a crisis to be resolved by an Aristotelian reform. Thus in commenting on the apparent contradiction between Aristotle's contempt for commerce and his approval of monopoly, he bases upon a brief text a proposal for dealing with an economic crisis by means of State monopolies. In the same way he strains the famous passage where Aristotle praises Greeks in comparison with Asiatics by deriving from three words a sort of Aristotelian "programme" for the Macedonian unification of Greece and conquest of Asia. The peculiar nature of the text of the *Politics* lends itself with too much ease to such improbable (though not impossible) explanations.

Perhaps the best part of M. Defourny's book is his discussion of the various attempts that have been made to find modern theories like socialism, communism, and the priority of the State to the family in the teaching of Aristotle. In this matter he even breaks a lance with the late Eduard Meyer, whose interpretation of the phrase "man is by nature a political animal" he rightly dismisses as absurd. His chapters on Aristotle's sociology will be found full of interest by all who have ever had to discuss such questions as matriarchy, the origins of monogamy and the family, or the "horde" theory, for long so popular among anthropologists. In his economics M. Defourny has somewhat more sympathy with what might be called the "socialist" view

of Greek development than with the "capitalist." He quotes Salvioli with approval and disagrees with Beloch. His account of Aristotle's views on education contains naturally fewer difficulties than the rest of his book. He shows us Aristotle mediating between the parent and the State at a time when the State was resuming control after a period of educational anarchy; and how Aristotle uses the Socratic identification of virtue with happiness as a basis on which to build a fundamentally irreligious education.

M. Defourny's book will be of very great utility to every student in a sphere where exegesis nowadays gives place to the study of origins and on which indeed any sort of modern explanatory writing is regrettably scarce. There are unfortunately too many misprints in quotations from Greek, and on p. 62 the author seems to be under the delusion that the Irish word *fuidhir* is an Indian legal term. M. T.

Education

HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION. By Pierre Marique, Pd.D., Ph.D., Professor of the History and Philosophy of Education, Fordham University. Vol. III. New York: Fordham University Press. 1932. Pp. x+286.

DR. MARIQUE here presents, in suitable form and size, a conspectus of modern education, covering the period since about the middle of the 18th century. The preceding volumes are known in appropriate centres within Ireland. If they are to be judged of by this concluding section, the entire work will be found highly serviceable as a manual for even the advanced students in our training colleges and university institutions. This third volume, of which alone we have been able to take notice, will be found most useful in its sustained effort to set education in its due place as the resultant of many lines of religious, social, economic and cultural policy and action. Nor does it fail to show clearly the increasing tendency to make education not the resultant alone of these forces. It also exhibits educational policies as influencing, even as creating such movements.

There is, in Dr. Marique's treatment of this vast, complex, and ever varying theme, a fair provision of professional detail; detail, too, that is generally well chosen and significant. Into any express examination of these presentations it would be impossible to enter within the limits of a review notice. The general impression is quite amply satisfactory. If one fails to see why the Pestalozzian projects and their merited failure are so tenderly treated, and if the basic doctrines of Froebel are not touched on at all,

there is compensation in the excellent exposition of the false philosophies of Spencer and of Herbart.

These typical names draw attention to what is the characteristic feature in which Dr. Marique's exposition of systems and of details seems to need strengthening and adjustment. While aiming at being a *History of Christian Education*, it is in this third volume confronted with the emergence of non-Christian, not to say anti-Christian concepts, systems, and administrative policies in education. In view of this situation, it would appear that Dr. Marique's excellently Christian and social philosophy, amply set out and applied in his more general sections, has not received its due counterpart in the presentation of details. In particular the non-Christian theorists and propagandists are not balanced by any adequate presentation of the numerous thoroughly authentic exponents of Christian principles and practice. We are told of Durkheim and of Dewey, but not of Dupanloup. Most of all is missing the suitable exposition of the general teaching of the Holy See concerning the Christian schools of the world. That teaching, from Pius VII to Pius XI, might with all fitness be made the main structural framework of a History of Modern Christian Education. This rather surprising deficiency manifests itself even in the illustrations. There the main effect is decidedly non-Christian—Voltaire, D'Alembert, Condorcet, Rousseau, Spencer, Pestalozzi, Fellenberg, Herbart, Froebel, Huxley, and so on. And for America: Henry Barnard and Horace Mann. What of such educational leaders and writers as England, Spalding, Brownson? The same diversion from the plan indicated in the title of this volume is observable in the page of General Bibliography. Here one cannot but be surprised at the absence of such excellent recent names as those of Collard, Riboulet, Damseaux.

Christian and, above all, Catholic Education has no need to derive doctrines and methods from any non-Christian sources whatever. Least of all has it any need to derive anything from the pitifully pretentious procession which begins with Kant and Voltaire, and is now under the sign of Durkheim or of Dewey. Its own positive teaching and constructive achievement fitly dominate our forward policy today. T. C.

THE NATIONAL IDEAL. By Joseph Hanly, F.R.C.Sc.I., M.R.I.A. Dublin: Dollard. 1931. Pp. 291. 10s. 6d.

WELL known as the expert writer of that most efficient of manuals, *Mixed Farming*, and as Organising Inspector of Agricultural Teaching, Mr. Hanly has here provided the counterpart of his

plan for the complete regeneration of Irish nationality. The sequence of hortatory yet very practical and apposite chapters has the great merit that it argues from contemporary continental practice towards a revival movement at once intellectual and economic. The argument, always as concrete as it is fervid, is well helped by a sequence of unusual photographs, those of Irish children engaged in Irish language studies and at Irish games. These come right up to the present academic year, and improve as they proceed. The writer has made good use of John Keating's allegorical frontispiece, at once severely spiritual and pointedly practical in its lesson. T. C.

History

AKBAR. By Laurence Binyon. London : Davies. 1932. 5s.

THE JESUITS AND THE GREAT MOGUL. By Sir Edward Maclagan. London : Burns Oates & Washbourne. 17s. 6d.

AN ACCOUNT OF TIBET. Being the Travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, S.J., 1712-1727. Edited by Filippo de Filippi. With an Introduction by C. Wessels, S.J. London : Routledge. 1932. 25s.

MR. Binyon has been stirred by the dramatic coincidences of Akbar's reign. Here was a mighty ruler of singular intelligence and breadth of vision, a contemporary of Philip of Spain and Elizabeth of England, an administrator who came near to uniting India under his sole rule, and who yet was more eager for a spiritual unity of all his subjects than the unity which comes from material progress and the splendours of an organised civilisation. And this same ruler, by the strangest of chances, was brought into contact, not only with the various religions of the East, but with the new preaching of the Christian faith which Francis Xavier had heralded in the very year of Akbar's birth. Rudolf Aquaviva, kinsman of the great Claudius and fellow-novice of Stanislaus Kostka, dreamer and scholar, the ideal missionary and the ideal martyr, came in the year 1580 to preach Christ's gospel to Akbar and his court. It is a scene to tempt the artist, and Mr. Binyon has the artist's skill. "Aquaviva, short-sighted, untidy and absent-minded—he was always looking for his mislaid hat or spectacles—was so shy that he blushed when called on to reply to the emperor or to address him. But he had a hero's soul," That vivid pen-picture, as vivid as the drawings and paintings which have come down to us from the pencils of Akbar's Persian and Hindu artists, is but one of a score and more in which Mr. Binyon brings before us the movement of men and women in Akbar's court.

Apart from the coloured miniatures and pencil-drawings of the

court artists, we have Mahommedan annals of his reign, and—more vivid still from the freshness of their first impressions—the Jesuit letters and chronicles. These are abundant for Akbar's reign, and also for the reign of his son Jahangir; and it is of the Jesuit letter-writers, rather than of Akbar himself and his whole system of govenment, that Sir Edward Maclagan has made a detailed study. His volume of more than four hundred closely-printed pages is an immensely valuable contribution to Jesuit missionary history. Beginning with Rudolf Aquaviva's mission to Akbar in 1580, he carries the story on through the two later missions to Akbar (1591 and 1595-1605), the reigns of Jahangir (1605-1627) and Shah Jahan (1627-1658), to the story of declining hopes that begins with the accession of Aurangzeb in 1658 and continues to the final extinction of the Mogul mission in 1803. This long and complicated story has never been told before in continuous form. That fact of itself would make Sir Edward's book an indispensable treasure-house for students of missionary history. But there is much else to attract the casual reader: a chapter, for example, wth numerous illustrations which traces the influence of these missionary efforts on the development of Hindu art; separate chapters on the literary activity of the Jesuits in India, on the churches that they built and the congregations they served, on some of their more distinguished converts; and finally a detailed history of the Tibetan mission which was first outlined as a scheme by Aquaviva, and which later engaged much of the surplus energy of those Jesuit pioneers who found that the Mahommedan policy of the Mogul rulers barred further progress within the Mogul empire.

Sir Edward Maclagan has a prefatory section on the sources of all this history. A Belgian Jesuit missionary and scholar, Father H. Hosten, has been for the past quarter of a century the pioneer of all this literary work, and the bibliography of his scattered papers and articles fills four pages of an Appendix at the end of Sir Edward's volume. Father Hosten's researches have been mainly concerned with the earlier period of this chapter in Jesuit history, though he has also made valuable contributions to the later story of the mission to Tibet. But another Jesuit scholar, Father Wessels, is here the acknowledged master; and his large volume on *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia* holds an honoured place in many missionary libraries. The editors of the *Broadway Travellers* have been quick to seize on such picturesque material for their series; and Catholic scholars owe them a very real debt for the two volumes already published in this series,

entitled *Akbar and the Jesuits,* and *Jahangir and the Jesuits.* To these must now be added a third volume, in which a competent scholar gives us a finely critical edition of Father Ippolito Desideri's journeys through Tibet in the years 1712-1727. The edition is adorned by some fine modern photographs of the scenes through which Father Desideri passed two centuries ago ; and the editor has given us a valuable Preface on the complicated MS. history of Father Desideri's text, with a thoroughly satisfactory Bibliography of Desideri's writings. To this Father Wessels has added an Introduction of some thirty pages on the previous missions to Tibet in the seventeenth century. It is at once more detailed and easier to follow than Sir Edward Maclagan's account of the same episode. The two volumes, which have been published almost simultaneously, thus give English-reading Catholics a complete and very welcome survey of the whole story of Jesuit activity in India and Central Asia prior to the suppression of the Society. A. G.

THE TRADITION OF THE NUN IN MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND. By Sister Mary of the Incarnation Byrne. Washington : Catholic University of America. 1932. Pp. xxxvi+236.

IT is almost inevitable that the reader who glances casually at the title of this learned dissertation will take it for granted that it is a rejoinder to the well-known work of Miss Eileen Power, *Mediaeval English Nunneries,* published ten years ago under the auspices of Dr. G. G. Coulton. In some sense this is true, but only in a sense. What Sister Mary of the Incarnation Byrne—alas for these fanciful religious names ! how they do worry the compilers of catalogues !—aims at setting before the reader is the mediaeval ideal of the conventual life for women, and she rather pointedly turns aside from any discussion of the historical question as to how far this ideal was realised in practice. That Sister Byrne has read both widely and intelligently, and that she has shown in this thesis that she is well deserving of the degree of Ph.D., no one will dispute. Her essay is undoubtedly a work of very considerable research, embracing the whole field of mediaeval literature in Great Britain, whether in English, Latin, or Anglo-Norman French. But we must confess that after careful perusal and after paying special attention to her Preface and to Ch. VII, "Conclusion," we are still somewhat puzzled as to the precise purpose aimed at. It may be due to our own lack of intelligence, but we get the impression that there is a good deal of

fancifulness in the author's generalisations. We are rather bewildered by her talk of norms and genres, by such phrases as "the monotone in which the nun appears," "the nun of didacticism" and "the simple nun of historiography." It seems to come to this that, as she judges, a marvellous identity of type is observable in the picture of the nun as exhibited in both early and later literature. But was it necessary to labour the point that the chastity, the unworldliness and the simplicity which St. Aldhelm in the 8th century laid stress upon as the characteristic virtues of the nun, continued throughout the middle ages to form the ideal of the religious life for women? That Aldhelm, who perhaps set the pattern, derived his ideas from the Latin Fathers, more particularly from St. Gregory the Great, is also quite true; but it is curious that Sister Byrne makes no mention of the edition of Aldhelm contributed by Rudolf Ehwald to the *Monumenta Germaniæ* in 1913-1919. She herself uses the very imperfect text of Giles, but in Ehwald's footnotes she would have found Aldhelm's indebtedness to the Latin Fathers fully indicated. There is an imposingly ample "Select Bibliography" prefixed to Sister Byrne's essay, upon which the author comments: "Over two thousand articles, monographs and surveys examined by me are not listed here, because they added nothing to my reading of the sources on which their statements are, or are supposed to be, based." Still there seem to be omissions in the bibliography—as well, let us add incidentally, as a good many misprints. Surely the double monasteries for men and women have a certain importance in connection with the mediaeval nun, but nothing is said of Miss Rose Graham's excellent book *St. Gilbert*. Both St. Aelred and St. Werburg figure prominently in Sister Byrne's paper, but she makes no mention of Prof. Powicke's *Ailred of Rievaulx* or of Prof. Tait's study of St. Werburg, both of them authorities of the highest value. Finally we may add that both she and Miss Eileen Power might with advantage have consulted Mother A. T. Drane's *Christian Schools and Scholars*, a remarkable work for the date at which it was written by one who was herself a nun.

H. T.

CONCEPTION ISLAND. By Raymund Devas, O.P., M.C. London: Sands. 1932. 12s. 6d.

Working under difficulties that would have daunted all save a missionary priest, Father Devas has produced a volume which does credit to his sense of scholarship as well as to his power of persistent labour in research. Here we have, told in full detail

from unpublished original documents, the whole story of the Catholic Church in Grenada from the arrival of a French Dominican priest in 1650 to the present day. It is a troubled story, but it is no more troubled than the contemporary story of the Catholic Church in the other West Indian Islands. Indeed Grenada, christened by Christopher Columbus *Insula Conceptionis* in honour of Our Lady's Immaculate Conception, was fortunate in that for more than a hundred years the Catholic Church was able to develop in peace and prosperity under French rule. This fact accounts for the large Catholic population among the negro slaves—some twenty thousand at the beginning of last century. These slaves remained Catholic after the English occupation, which was permanently effected in 1784. So also did the old French residents who elected to remain after the transfer effected by the Treaty of Versailles. Father Devas shows in detail how they were called to fight a battle for both their religious and civic rights. At first inclined to tolerance, the English Colonial Office became more definitely English and Protestant in its outlook, and an attempt was made, not merely to deprive the Catholic priests of their property and to insist on Protestant registration of births, baptisms and marriages, but also to deprive the French Catholics on the island of their vote and the right to sit in the Assembly and on the Council. In Grenada the attempt to enforce this bigotry by law cost the island two years of desperate fighting in the insurrection of 1795-6.

With the grant of double emancipation—Catholic Emancipation in 1832 and Negro Emancipation in 1838—the history of the Catholic mission on the island changes. But there were still years of painful controversy ahead—this time from within the Catholic ranks. The two first Irish names in this volume are those of an Anglican clergyman, Francis MacMahon, and a Catholic priest, Father James O'Loughlin, who came to the island during the insurrection. Father O'Loughlin had been twenty years out of Ireland—apparently on the West Indian mission—when he first reached Grenada. He ministered there for seventeen years, and was then replaced by French and Spanish priests. The next Irish priest was Father Denis O'Callaghan, who was sent out by Dr. John Murphy of Cork and reached Grenada in 1827. It was the eve of Catholic Emancipation, and Father O'Callaghan was advised by a resident lawyer to challenge the Government's claim that he needed a license for his ministrations in any of the churches on the island. The dispute ended in Father O'Callaghan's withdrawal in 1829, and his place was taken by another Irish

priest with experience of the mission on the American mainland and in Montserrat, Father Anthony O'Hannon.

Father O'Hannon began by winning golden opinions from all, including the Government, and was the first priest to receive an official salary. But this first success seems to have turned his head, and the next seven years are a long struggle between the priest, who had with him almost all the labouring population on the island, and a succession of Bishops, Vicars General and English governors. " Sir, the church is mine, and I will preach in that church as often as I please in spite of you or anyone else." So said Father O'Hannon to one well-meaning Governor who had striven hard to effect a reconciliation ; and the priest had evidently a gift for eloquence in litigation which is not unknown nearer home. In the end a reconciliation was effected, for it was impossible not to recognise Father O'Hannon's zeal and his astonishing hold on the labouring classes. A year or two after the end of the schism he died, killed by his work and troubles at the age of forty-eight. Since then the history of the mission has been one of uninterrupted prosperity, and the Dominican Fathers of the English Province, to whom the mission was entrusted in 1901, have reason to be proud of their work on the island, and also of their most recent historian. Father Devas ends his volume by a survey of the various parishes in their present condition.

A. G.

Mysticism

MYSTICISM EAST AND WEST. A Comparative Analysis of the Nature of Mysticism. By Rudolf Otto, Professor of Theology in the University of Marburg. Translated by Bertha L. Bracey and Richenda C. Payne. London : Macmillan. 1932. 16s. net.

STUDIES IN EARLY MYSTICISM IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST. Being an account of the rise and development of early Christian Mysticism in the Near and Middle East up to the seventh century, and of the subsequent development of Mysticism in Islam known as Sufism, together with some account of the relationship between early Christian Mysticism and the earliest form of Islamic Mysticism. By Margaret Smith, M.A., Ph.D. London : The Sheldon Press. 1931. 12s. 6d.

A favourite thesis with practically all modernist writers on the philosophy of religion is the fundamental, substantial unity of mystical experience in all the cults. The mystics are all one body, and their experiences only differ in detail due to their environ-

ment and history. Their fundamental apprehension of the divine is one and the same whether they are Christian contemplatives, Buddhist Arahats, Sufi saints, or Hindu Yogis. In this basic apprehension we find the ground of all religions for one set of thinkers who look on religion as an ultimate value, and for another the explanation of a universal human delusion. For the materialist religion is a fiction built on feeling; for the spiritualist it is the developed expression of a primitive intuition, veridical but infinitely versatile, yet in its ground one and the same.

This thesis forms the ground plan of these two volumes, more or less formally expressed in Dr. Otto's extraordinarily able parallel between Eckhart and Sankara, and implied in Dr. Margaret Smith's delightful comparison of the early Sufis with the Fathers of the Desert. Both books carry a great store of erudition, but they carry it with the ease and elegance of good writers. Dr. Rudolf Otto is perhaps the best known of modern Protestant theologians, and his theory of the numinous is epoch-making. He is intimately acquainted with Indian thought, better acquainted, I am inclined to think, than with St. Thomas. He suffers from a phobia of Scholasticism, and his view of Eckhart, though ingenious and very well documented, lacks that understanding which a deeper first hand knowledge of St. Thomas would give. But his exposition of Sankara's philosophy is magnificent, and his book will be of great value to the Catholic student who desires to learn something of the teaching of one who might not unjustly be called the Aquinas of Hinduism.

Dr. Margaret Smith is rather the historian than the systematic philosophical critic; she gives us texts and documents and keeps her own views on fundamental issues in the back-ground. Yet she brings out very clearly her thesis that Sufism grew up in a Christian environment and is more a derivative of Christian ascetics and mysticism than a native product of Islam; the Sufis reaped what the Fathers of the Desert had sown. The parallel is quite extraordinary, far closer than that drawn by Otto. The intense and really sublime piety disclosed in her numerous quotations from Sufi texts reveals an aspect of Islam little known to Catholics. It is this spiritual side of Mahommedanism which presents the greatest obstacle to the work of Catholic missionaries, and is the reason why only mystics like Ramon Lull and Charles Foucauld have impressed the followers of the Prophet. It is not merely a fight with principalities and powers, but a combat between rival spiritualities in the high places. Râbi'a is closer to St. Teresa than any Arahat or Yogi to St. John of the Cross.

But do these extraordinary parallels, extraordinary both in quality and quantity, compel us to admit the fundamental unity of all mystical experience ? Can we infer the specific identity of the inmost experience of a Ràbi'a and a St. Teresa from the close correspondence of their recorded sentiments ? We would have to answer this question in the affirmative if we also affirm a necessary correspondence between the felt, recordable, psychic experiences of the saints with that inmost, spiritual, " pneumatic," most hidden and most secret operation of grace on the apex of the spirit, which alone we truly call mystical. That love of God which is the work of His grace and which we call charity works in our lower conscious self, as St. Thomas teaches, like purely natural love, and hence we cannot infer a state of grace from our feelings. What mystics can record are but the epiphenomena of their mystical experience—psychic movements often quite capable of a purely materialistic explanation and in no case decisive. We do not judge oun saints from their visions, ecstasies or effusions but by the pragmatic test of heroic virtue. The true mystical experience is both an *agnosia* and an *apatheia,* and what commonly goes by that name is but the lace frills on the wedding garment. " Non est perfecta oratio in qua monachus se vel hoc ipsum quod orat intellegit." (St. Antonius apud Cassianum Coll. IX c 31).

JOHN HOWLEY

Philosophy and Theology

METAPHYSICA GENERALIS. Tomus I. Doctrinae Expositio. Tomus II. Notae Historicae. By L. De Raeymaeker. Louvain : Imprimerie " Nova et Vetera." 1931-1932. 50 fr.

IT is seldom that a book on metaphysics, and more especially a text-book, gives full satisfaction. And this is as it should be. In the first place the difficulties of text-book writing are immense—difficulties which are increased a hundred-fold in a text-book on metaphysics. How can the synthetic character of the subject-matter be properly conveyed to the student, when the didactic purpose of the book necessarily demands the analytic method ? The closer the synthesis, the more drastic must be the corresponding analysis. It is hard to appreciate a building if you view it brick by brick. Again, a text-book, to serve its end, must be concise, allowing ample room for development by the professor, yet sufficiently complete to be of service in private study.

Father De Raeymaeker is, therefore, to be congratulated on giving us a book on General Metaphysics which it would be hard to better. It is a model of clear and constructive thinking, a

model of the analytic method used with discernment and full understanding of the synthetic nature of Thomist metaphysics. The student will not be lost in a maze of unintelligible divisions and sub-divisions, or loaded with definitions arbitrarily framed for the thesis in hand. Beginning with a discussion of the object of metaphysics, the author, in Part I, treats *seriatim* the concept of *being*, its analogous character and its transcendental properties. It is of interest to note that the traditional theses on the reality and foundation of possible essences are surrendered to Natural Theology. The problem, however, is not completely ignored here: sufficient space (pp.56-59) is given to it to show its place in the general scheme of metaphysics. Part II deals with the causes of *being*, and it is here that Father De Raeymaeker shows his real merit. The first step is to discover and analyse the intrinsic causes of *being*, to offer some explanation for the multiplicity of beings in general and, in particular, of their numerical distinction within a species. In the course of this enquiry, the author, with a steady hand and a clear eye, reveals "le point de départ" of the metaphysics of St. Thomas, the theory of potency and act. He establishes the universal validity of these notions, and does not make the theory depend, as some have done, on the less universal theory of matter and form. However, it is regrettable that the author has not discussed the opinions of the Eleatics and of other philosophers prior to Plato, on the problems of change and of the "One and the Many"; for the Platonic and Aristotelian doctrine of potency and act has its own "point de départ" in these opinions.

The questions of essence and existence and of matter and form are shown to be but particular applications of the general theory of potency and act. Great care is taken that the student should not crudely conceive the distinction between essence and existence as a physical distinction, as a distinction between thing and thing, but as a distinction between *principia entis*, neither of which has any reality whatsoever except in conjunction with the other. Having established the necessity of a dual principle in every finite being and of a twofold dual principle in every material being, the author next proves the necessity of the distinction between substance and accidents to account for the activity of finite beings. The final section of the book is taken up with a study of the extrinsic causes of being, efficient, final and exemplary, concluding with a few pages on the existence and nature of the First Cause.

Such, in brief, is a general outline of the first volume of Father De Raeymaeker's work. Valuable as this volume is in itself,

its worth is greatly enhanced by the appearance of Tomus 2. In this second volume we have, *pari passu* with the sections of the first volume, an historical commentary on the Thomist and other solutions of the various problems in Ontology. The bibliography, given piecemeal in footnotes, is immense. In this matter we would suggest that the author could have given a little more help to the student. It would have been comparatively easy in the course of the book to have provided the reader with references indicating a systematic course on each of the subjects under review. This, however, is a small point when weighed against the combined merits of these two volumes. The student of Father De Raeymaeker's *Metaphysica Generalis* can rest assured that the author is giving him, both in letter and spirit, the full synthetic value of the Thomist metaphysic. J. O'MARA

INTRODUCTION TO THE THEOLOGICAL SUMMA OF ST. THOMAS. By Dr. Martin Grabmann. Translated from the second revised and enlarged edition by John S. Zybura, Ph.D. London and Saint Louis: Herder. 1930. 7s.

THE first edition of this work, which appeared in German in 1919, was universally welcomed as a most useful aid for the study of the Theological Summa. The second edition, from which this excellent translation has been made, has many important additions, including an entirely new chapter on the structure of the Summa.

Dr. Grabmann is the foremost authority on St. Thomas and on the sources of Scholastic philosophy and theology. To him, of all students of St. Thomas, the following passage in this book preeminently applies: "When one has repeatedly perused the Theological Summa as a whole, when one has penetrated more thoroughly into the various problems it discusses, when one has delved into the other works of Aquinas, when one has taken the pains to study the writings and doctrines of the Saint in the light of the works of the great Scholastics, when one has made himself familiar with the earliest pupils of the prince of Scholasticism and with later commentators of his Summa, when, finally, one has investigated the relations between the Thomistic world of ideas and modern thought—in a word, when one makes the Summa Theologica the centre of the intensive intellectual labour of a life-time—then one will never be satiated or fatigued by reading and studying this work."

One cannot praise too highly this admirable Introduction to the Summa. Written with masterly didactic skill, with that

simplicity which comes from fulness of knowledge, it is replete with valuable information and may be described as a Summa of Thomistic scholarship.

It deals first with the origin and the chronology of the *Summa Theologica*, its relations to similar works of other Scholastics, and to the other works of St. Thomas. Although the Summa does not belong to the group of works representing the subject-matter of the lecture-room, but to that of exclusively literary productions, it probably contains no question that had not been debated in disputations and, in most cases, previously treated by St. Thomas in other works. These other works, therefore, have to be constantly used as a means of interpreting the Summa.

To show the aim and method of the Summa, Dr. Grabmann uses the simple device of bringing out, with historical commentary, the points contained in St. Thomas's own Prologue. According to this, the work was intended primarily as a text-book for students of theology ; and the ways and means of best realising this purpose are the avoidance of superfluous questions, articles and arguments, the avoidance of intricacy and confusion in the arrangement of the subject-matter, and the avoidance of repetitions. Dr. Grabmann, with his unique knowledge of the development of the Scholastic method, is able to give us an illuminating insight into St. Thomas's manner of composition, and to show, by comparison with other works of the time, the originality and perfection of his method and the supreme artistry of his crowning work.

The methods of interpreting the Summa are next treated. Of these, the systematic method is the most fundamental and most widely used. Lately the historical method has come into the foreground. Dr. Grabmann, who is *pars magna* in this new field, gives us a valuable account of the results hitherto achieved by this method, and indicates the prospects of future research.

The utilization of the Summa and its significance for the present time are next shown. Lastly, there is a useful survey of the structure of the Summa. This chapter is a running commentary and topical guide to the questions and articles. It has the advantage over the ordinary index of bringing out the logical development and connexions in the work, and should prove a valuable companion to any study of the Summa.

J. SHINE

Books Received

Adam, Karl. Le Christ notre Frère. (Grasset, 15 fr.).
[Anonymous]. Picture History of Ireland. (Gill, 1/6).
Aquinas, St. Thomas. On the Power of God. First Book. Translated by the English Dominican Fathers. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
Armagnac, M. M. d'. L'Etoile rouge. (Bonne Presse, 3 fr.).
Bax, Clifford. Leonardo da Vinci. (Peter Davies, 5/-).
Bension, Ariel. Zohar in Moslem and Christian Spain. (Routledge, 12/6).
Briere, Yves de la. La Communauté des Puissances. D'une communauté inorganique à une communauté organique. (Beauchesne, 36 fr.).
Brown, Stephen J. International Relations from a Catholic Standpoint. Translated from the French. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).
Cahill, Edward. The Framework of the Christian State. An Introduction to Social Science. (Gill, 15/-).
Cary, M. History of the Greek World, 323–146. (Methuen, 15/-).
Cassidy, James. St. Thèrese. An Interpretation. (Talbot Press, 2/-).
Cavallera, Ferdinand. Précis de la Doctrine sociale catholique. (Editions Spes, 18 fr.).
Chaine, J. Introduction à la lecture des Prophètes. (Gabalda, 20 fr.).
Chardavoine, Eutrope. Annuaire Pontifical, 1932. (Bonne Presse, 45 fr.).
Colomban, Max. Annette et Marcien. (Bonne Presse, 3 fr.).
Colvill, Helen H. In the Footsteps of a Saint. (Burns Oates, 5/-).
Concannon, Helena. The Blessed Eucharist in Irish History. (Browne & Nolan, 12/6).
Conway, Agnes. Henry VII's Relations with Scotland and Ireland. (Cambridge University Press, 15/-).
Corcoran, T. The Clongowes Record. (Browne & Nolan, 10/6).
Cosgrave, Dillon. North Dublin City and Environs. (Gill, 2/6).
D'Avignon, Jean. Les Enfants sans Parents. Drame en trois actes pour jeunes filles. (Téqui, 5 fr.).
Dechene, Abel. Contre Pie VII et Bonaparte. Le Blanchardisme. (Firmin-Didot, 15 fr.).
Dexter, T. Cornwall the Land of the Gods. (Perranporth: Author, 1/6).
Dubois, Henri. Le Répertoire Africaine. (Rome: Sodalité de S. Pierre Claver, 4/- (paper), 6/- (leatherette)).
Flynn, W. J. Free State Parliamentary Companion. (Talbot Press, 5/-).
Follet, R. Quelques Sommets de la Pensée indienne. Archives de la Philosophie, Vol. IX. (Beauchesne, 36 fr.).
Germains, Victor W. Austria of To-day. (Macmillan, 12/6).
Gregory, Padraic. The Coming of the Magi. Sacred Drama in four Acts. (Talbot Press, 3/6).
Griffin, Joseph A. The Contribution of Belgium to the Catholic Church in America, 1523-1857. (Catholic University, pp. 250).
Harrison, Henry. Strange Case of the Irish Land Annuities. (Gill, 6d.).
Hartmann, Nicolai. Ethics. Vol. III. (Allen & Unwin, 12/6).
Herriot, Edouard. La Porte Océane. Sur les terres des abbayes et foyers spirituels. (Hachette, 10 fr.).
Jolivet, Regis. La Philosophie chrétienne et la Pensée contemporaine. (Téqui, 15 fr.).
Knox, Ronald. Broadcast Minds. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).
Lavergne, R. P. C. Evangile selon Saint Luc. (Gabalda, 18 fr.).
Leclercq, Jacques. Back to Christ. Translated by Rev. Francis Day. (Burns Oates, 6/-).
Leonard, Joseph. Vincent de Paul. Guide for Priests. (Burns Oates, 6/-).
Lepetit, V. Sur les pas d'une Sainte [Thèrese de Lisieux]. (Téqui, pp. 108).

Books Received—*continued*

LESOURD, PAUL. L'Œuvre civilisatrice et scientifique des Missionnaires catholiques. (Desclée De Brouwer, 50 fr.).
LEVAUX, LEOPOLD. L'Orient et Nous. (Aucam, 25 fr.).
MACGILLIVRAY, G. J. Life of Our Lord for Schools. (Burns Oates, 1/6).
MCNEILL, CHARLES. Registrum de Kilmainham. (Stationery Office, 5/-).
MAGENNIS, P. E. Corn and Cockle. (Gill, 5/-).
MEJECAZE, F. Fr. Ozanam et l'Eglise Catholique. (Vitte, 25 fr.).
MEUNIER, ALICE. Dernière Volonté de Guido Lupini. (Bonne Presse, 3 fr.).
MULLIN, FRANCIS A. History of the Work of the Cistercians in Yorkshire, 1131-1300. (Catholic University, pp. 140).
MURRAY, K. M. Poems. (Talbot Press, 5/-).
NEFF, EMERY. Carlyle. (Allen & Unwin, 10/6).
NIHARD, RENE. La Méthode des Tests. Pour initier les éducateurs. (Editions du Cerf, 13 fr.).
NOAILLES, MARQUIS DE. Le Bureau du Roi. Le Comte de Chambord et les Monarchistes. (Hachette, 12 fr.).
O'CONNELL, RAPHAEL. Reflections on the Litany of the Sacred Heart. (New York: Apostleship of Prayer, pp. 237).
O'DONNELL, C. J. Outraged Ulster. Why Ireland is Rebellious. (Cecil Palmer, 2/-).
O'FLANDERS, A. Iersche Legenden. (Tongerloo, pp. 170).
PHILIP, MOTHER MARY. In Praise of St. Joseph. Meditations. Burns Oates, 2/6).
PONTE, LOUIS DE. Of Familiar Intercourse with God in Prayer. (Burns Oates, 6/-).
RADHAKRISHNAN, S. An Idealist View of Life. Hibbert Lectures for 1929. (Allen & Unwin, 12/6).
ROBECK, NESTA DE. Up at a Villa—Down in the City. (Dent, 7/6).
ROCHE, ALOYSIUS. Talks for Girls. (Sands, 2/-).
SAINT-AULAIRE, COMTE DE. Richelieu. (Dunod, 15 fr.).
ST. PAUL, MOTHER. Vita Christi. Third Year, Part I. (Longmans, 5/-).
SIMPSON, W. J. SPARROW. History of the Anglo-Catholic Revival from 1845. (Allen & Unwin, 8/6).
SISTER OF CHARITY. The Spirit of Margaret Sinclair. (Sands, 2/6).
SISTER OF NOTRE DAME. A Scottish Montessori School. (Sands, 5/-).
TALBOT, EDWARD F. Knowledge and Object. (Catholic University, pp. 115).
TAYLOR, MONICA. Sir Bertram Windle. A Memoir. (Longmans, 12/6).
TOMMASINI, ANSELMO. Santi irlandesi in Italia. (Vita e Pensiero, L. 10).
VASSALL-PHILIPPS, O. R. Apostolic Christianity or the Witness of the Apostles. (Burns Oates, 8/6).
VILLIEN, A. History and Liturgy of the Sacraments. Translated by H. W. Edwards. (Burns Oates, 8/6).
WIRTA, GUY. Roselle. (Bonne Presse, 3 fr.).

Cambridge Medieval History. Vol. VII. Decline of Empire and Papacy. (Cambridge University Press, 50/-).
The Holy Bible. Pocket Edition. (Burns Oates, 3/6 upwards).
Benedictionale. New and revised Edition. (Gill, 5/-).
Contributi de Laboratorio di Psicologia. Serie Quinta. (Vita e Pensiero, L. 50).
Catholic Who's Who and Year Book, 1932. (Burns Oates, 5/-).
Catholic Directory, 1932. (Burns Oates, 3/6).

(*Prices of all books in this list are net*)

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 25th day of July, 1932.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1932, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ...	£39,084	15	10
To which has to be added:—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	33,888	1	6
	£72,972	17	4
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of ...	£10,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Eleven per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	27,500	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	5,000	0	0
To next Account	30,472	17	4
	£72,972	17	4

The Reserve Fund now stands at £620,000.

By Order of the Board,
ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 13th July, 1932.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1932. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000: amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0		By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	366,238 18 2	
,, Reserve Fund	620,000 0 0		,, Investments, viz.:—		
,, Special Reserve for Contingencies	100,000 0 0		War Loan, Irish Free State National Loans, and other Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding as per contra) ...	6,281,431 3 8	
,, Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ... 550,000 0 0			Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities	232,744 11 3	
Less: Held by the Bank ... 69,120 0 0	480,880 0 0			6,880,414 13 1	
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	11,484,970 11 8		,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	6,226,738 7 0	
,, Sundry Agents	65,086 11 10		,, Sundry Agents	5,654 14 3	
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	7,472 17 5		,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), written down to	208,575 3 11	
,, Profit and Loss Account ... £72,972 17 4					
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0	62,972 17 4				
	£13,321,382 18 3				£13,321,382 18 3

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 30th JUNE, 1932.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	117,834 3 3		By Balance from last Account ...	33,888 1 6
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000 0 0		,, Gross Profit for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	156,918 19 1
,, Dividend to be paid in August, 1932, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ s. d. 27,500 0 0				
,, Bank Premises Acct. 5,000 0 0				
,, Balance to next Acct. 30,472 17 4	62,972 17 4			
	£190,807 0 7			£190,807 0 7

AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 30th June, 1932, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
DUBLIN, 13th July, 1932. Chartered Accountant. Auditor.

MARTIN F. MAHONY,
CHARLES E. LAMBKIN,
WILLIAM R. NOLAN,
} *Directors.*

ALFRED T. COLLINS, *General Manager*

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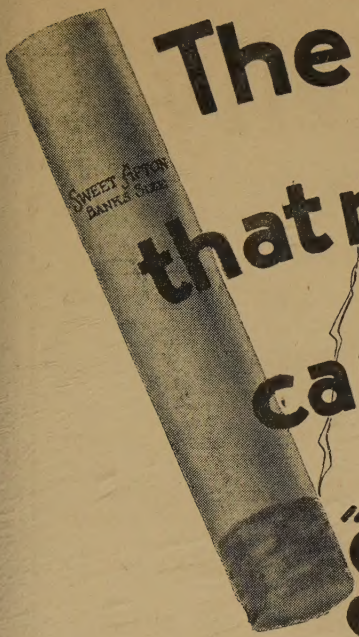

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